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AMERICAN HUSBANDRY.

VOL. II.

AMERICAN HUSBANDRY.

Containing an ACCOUNT of the

SOIL, CLIMATE,

PRODUCTION and AGRICULTURE,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

IN

NORTH-AMERICA and the WEST-INDIES;

WITH

Observations on the Advantages and Disadvantages of settling in them, compared with GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

BY AN AMERICAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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AMERICAN HUSBANDRY.

CHAP. XXV.

GEORGIA.

Climate — Situation — Soil — Productions — Agriculture — Exports — Obſervations.

GEORGIA is in many reſpects the ſame country as Carolina, differing very little in climate, but generally in favour of it. Upon the coaſt it is not above ſixty or ſeventy miles from north to ſouth; but in the internal country the diſtance is upwards of one hundred and fifty miles. The climate upon the coaſt is hot, damp, and unwholeſome, like Carolina, though there are hilly ſpots which form ſtrong exceptions. The flat country extends in general about two hundred miles from the ſea, and the interior tract, which reaches from thence to the Apalachean mountains, and is about one hundred miles

broad, ranks in every reſpect among the very fineſt in all America. The climate at the ſame time that it is hot enough to produce the moſt valuable ſtaples, is healthy and agreeable to an extraordinary degree; free from thoſe ſudden changes and violent extremes that are felt in the maritime part of the province, and which are ſo pernicious to health wherever found. In this country the ſoil is of a fertility that even exceeds the back parts of South Carolina, eſpecially on the river Savannah, and its branches to the weſt and north-weſt of Auguſta, and indeed all round that town: no flat lands are found, no ſwamps, no marſhes, but high, dry tracts, waving in gentle hills, and the vales watered with numerous ſtreams. The ſoil a deep black loam, ſo rich that there is ſcarcely any exhauſting its fertility: it was for a long time unknown that ſuch a country exiſted here; but upon firſt ſettling Georgia, and for many years afterwards, the flat ſandy coaſt was the only part of the province attended to or known; and as long as this has been the caſe with any of our colonies to the ſouth of New York, they have languiſhed, and emerged from their languor as ſoon as they penetrated into the rich and healthy part

part of the country. Georgia was a very inconſiderable province as long as the people confined themſelves to the coaſt; but the efforts ſince made here have been by means of removing backwards, where ſilk, indigo, and other commodities of great value, are cultivated with a ſucceſs far greater than was ever found in any of the maritime parts of our colonies, But however clear the excellencies of theſe interior parts of Georgia may appear, to ſuch as have viewed them with an underſtanding eye, yet are they not one tenth peopled: it is but a few years ſince any attention at all has been given to this province by American or European ſettlers; but after the arrangement of the American governments in 1763 had confined all the colonies to as narrow bounds as the encroachments of the French before the war, and their operations in it, they then found good land, unpatented, ſcarce; which puſhed them upon a more induſtrious ſearch: this was the cauſe of Georgia receiving ſince the peace ſuch an acceſſion of people, that ſettled in numbers in the back parts of it; and it was the ſame cauſe that contributed to the peopling ſeveral diſtricts in North Carolina, which had been long neglected.

The ſoil and face of the country in the maritime part of the province, reſembles South Carolina; it conſiſts of a flat territory, very ſandy, and in general either pine barrens or ſwamps; the ſlips of oakland are not large or numerous: the ſwamps are inferior to thoſe of Carolina in the production of rice, and in general the country is not ſo good for the whole breadth of the flat part; but this inferiority is not great; all the ſea-coaſt of America, from Jerſey to Florida, has a ſtrong ſimilarity.

The vegetable productions both of trees, ſhrubs, roots, flowers, &c. are the ſame as thoſe of South Carolina; nor is there much difference in the growth, for though Georgia lies to the ſouth of that province, yet is the climate not hotter than that of Carolina; and there are ſome parts of the latter, particularly Charles Town, much hotter than moſt in Georgia. Relative to a further account of the ſoil, climate and products of this province, I ſhall here inſert an extract from a letter written by a planter, who went from England and ſettled not far from Auguſta, and has reſided there eight years.

"I muſt freely own, that in ſome inſtances I was much diſappointed in my expectations

pectations of this country,—I thought the ſoil had been more generally good, and the climate I was taught to imagine was more agreeable to an Engliſh conſtitution; but in ſummer I find the heat very oppreſſive, and gives one, for two or three hours in the afternoon, a languor which I never experienced in England even in the hotteſt days; going out is then diſagreeable, and the only way to be tolerably at eaſe, is to keep one's ſelf perfectly quiet, to ſit ſtill in rooms that admit much air but no ſun, and to be cautious in diet: this ſeaſon laſts through July, Auguſt, and moſt of September. The way to enjoy the agreeable parts of any avocation during thoſe months, is to riſe early in the morning, and to tranſact whatever buſineſs requires your being abroad, by eleven o'clock, or at moſt by twelve (unleſs the days are cloudy), and then to keep the houſe till five in the afternoon: in the evening the air is cool enough to render the fields pleaſant. What I have now told you is not general with all conſtitutions; I have a ſervant, who came from England with me, that feels no more inconvenience from being expoſed through the heat of the day to the ſun, than the very negroes themſelves, who generally

delight in the moſt meridian beams; and among my neighbours, I know two or three who are of the ſame temperament. But my own conſtitution is very different, for a fever would be the leaſt conſequence I believe; and indeed I partly know it from experience, which would enſue from my uſing any fatiguing exerciſe, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon in ſummer, when the ſky is clear; for with a ſouth wind the ſun's beams are ſo intenſely hot, that the only pleaſure I feel, is to be perfectly at reſt.

" But at the ſame time, Sir, that I deſcribe theſe inconveniencies, let me remark, that I ſhould uſe very different terms if I lived near the coaſt: I have been often at Savannah, when I have longed ardently to be at home; the climate is there beyond compariſon worſe than at Auguſta, and the farther weſt we go, the better it becomes. This will doubtleſs appear very ſtrange to you, as there is ſo little difference in the latitudes of theſe places; but that is a circumſtance which has little to do with climate in this part of the world. I attribute the great contraſt there is between the ſea-coaſt and the weſtern part of the province, to the flatneſs of one, and the varied

ried ſurface of the other—alſo to one being full of ſwamps and marſhes, and the other being entirely free from them. Flat countries have always leſs wind and agitations in the air, which render it far more pure and wholeſome to breathe in, as they carry off ſpeedily every noxious quality; there is ſcarce an inſtance on the globe, of a hilly or a mountainous country being unhealthy; even under the line or the troprics ſuch are always inhabited by a hardy and robuſt race of people. The other circumſtance is of yet more conſequence; the effluvia of ſtagnant waters in a hot climate, and eſpecially of ſuch as rice-ſwamps, which are ſhallow, ſometimes fields of mud, at others thinly covered with water, cannot but prove prodigiouſly injurious to the health of the human body, at the ſame time that it renders the heat not only burning, but cloſe and ſuffocating: ſuch a thick heavy atmoſphere, in a country ſo flat as not to be windy, muſt neceſſarily make the maritime part of this province far more hot than the internal part, creating a difference greater than what many degrees of latitude could occaſion.

"In the obſervations have made on the climate's being uncommonly hot, I con-

fine myſelf entirely to the hotteſt part of the ſummer, July, Auguſt, and part of September, and perhaps, but not always, a week the latter end of June. As to the reſt of the year, you have no idea in England of the charms of this climate at a diſtance from the ſea. March, April, May, and June, are a warm ſpring, in which ſcarce a day offends you: the ſky is a clear expanſe, clouds rarely to be ſeen, and the heat nothing offenſive; the beauty of our country is then enjoyed every hour of the day—in ſhort, no ſeaſon in any part of the world can hardly be more agreeable than theſe months in the back country of Georgia. The latter part of September and October are alſo perfectly agreeable, in being ſufficiently warm without a melting heat. But this is not all I have to ſay in our favour; for to me the winter is a moſt pleaſing ſeaſon here; the degree of heat is that of a warm ſpring, with ſome days as hot as a common ſummer; but in ſome months in the latter country I have felt days as hot as are generally experienced in Jamaica: ideas of heat ſhould not therefore be taken from the height to which the thermometer riſes in certain days, but to the mean height when every day is re-

giſtered. In the winter ſeaſon, and alſo in ſpring, we have extreme cold winds, particularly the north-weſt; and alſo ſharp froſts; but the ſudden changes from heat to cold, which are ſo much complained of on the coaſt, are rarely felt with us in any ſuch degree as is common there. I have heard many of my neighbours complain of theſe froſts and cold winds, but to an European conſtitution they are natural, and are certainly wholeſome whenever the changes are not ſudden from heat to cold; and even in that caſe they are better than conſtant heat, if any caution is uſed in dreſs. I muſt ſay for my own part, that neither froſt nor wind have ever proved diſagreeable to me; and that upon the whole, I much prefer the climate to any in which I have lived before; and yet I have reſided at Cadiz, Naples, and the Weſt Indies, not to ſpeak of Boſton and England. But whatever I have mentioned on this head is relative only to the country to the weſt of Auguſta, that is, the weſtern half of Georgia; for the other part does not by many degrees enjoy ſo good a climate."

In another letter was written as follows. "The ſoil in this neighbourhood is good; in general, we have very little that is bad; and

and none that will not produce ſome uſeful crop or other. Like you in England we have waſtes uncultivated, which ſpread almoſt over the whole province; but our waſtes are ſuch only for want of people to accept their property, whereas yours are ſuch from being of a poor and almoſt worthleſs ſoil. I have travelled over parts of Scotland, and even the northern counties of England, which carry ſuch an aſpect of barrenneſs, and are ſo dreary and waſte, as nothing in all this country can be oppoſed to them. All land here that is uncultivated, is either a very rich and valuable foreſt, or a meadow, which in its natural ſtate would be worth ten or twelve ſhillings an acre in England. On the coaſt they have ſwamps, which produce nothing, tho' not many, but here ſwamps are rare; the low grounds on ſome of the rivers are more properly marſhes; they are ſmall, and ſuch as are found in the beſt and moſt beautiful counties of England; low meadows on rivers, wherever they are found, were (in a ſtate of nature) marſhes: we have none but what might eaſily be drained, and would then be the richeſt meadows in the world, eſpecially if kept as watered ones.

Even

Even theſe marſhes are with us found full of tall and beautiful cedars and cypreſſes.

" Our flat tracts, or more properly the ſurface of gentle waves of country, rather than levels or hills, are of a rich loamy ſoil; the ſurface from twelve to eighteen inches deep of a fine light, black, ſandy loam, which has the appearance of being the earth which has been formed by the rotting of vegetables; and yet, which is extraordinary, we have this ſoil where no trees are found. Under this loam we find another of a reddiſh brown colour, three, four, or five feet deep, and then meet with clay, and in ſome places rock; this under-ſtratum of loam has the appearance of being admirable land. Other tracts of this ſort, and eſpecially the ſides of hills, are covered with a reddiſh loam, with many ſtones in it, from one to two feet deep, and under it rock: the appearance of this ſoil is not ſo good, but on experience we find it to be very fertile. In ſome vales, between gentle hills, we find the black loam three or four feet deep, a ſoil which I am perſuaded might be applicable to any purpoſe in the world. A true clay on the ſurface is ſcarcely ever found in theſe tracts; but in the low lands on the river ſides the

ſoil

ſoil is a very ſtrong loam, near the clay. Some of the rivers, however, run among the hills, with high rocky ſhores. For 150 miles from the ſea the country abounds with what they call a *pine barren*, which is a light white ſand, very poor, covered with pines; it is reckoned the worſt part of that country; we are not entirely without it; here and there is a pine barren, but they are rare. There are other varieties of ſoil, but not in conſiderable quantity; we have ſandy tracts, which though light are very rich, and of a nature entirely different from the pine barren ſand. Some ſpots on the rivers and the higheſt hills are rocky, and ſo rough as not to admit of culture; but theſe are covered with foreſt trees, and add very much to the beauty of the country.

"Uncultivated tracts of country in this part of America are very different from ſuch in other parts of the world; the plenty of the fineſt timber is aſtoniſhing to an European upon his firſt arrival. We have ſeveral ſorts of oak which come to a pro- ...ious ſize, twice or thrice as large as oaks ...ngland; and ſome of theſe are much ...e excellent for ſhip-building than is ...mon...agined: an injudicious choice of

of the ſort of oak, was for ſome years the cauſe of this idea; but later trials have diffuſed a more correct knowledge of the value of our timber, for ſome has been found ſuperior in duration even to Britiſh oak. This wood is alſo cut into various articles of lumber, which are exported to the Weſt Indies; pine, cypreſs, and cedar, are likewiſe appropriated to the ſame uſe: this is a vaſt advantage annexed to thoſe parts of the country which have a good water-carriage, ſince theſe ſorts of woods converted into lumber will pay the expences of clearing the thickeſt foreſts in this country, even if a proportion of the timber be of other ſorts, and not uſed in building: when this is the caſe therefore, a man enters not only into the poſſeſſion of an eſtate without expence, but even an eſtate that is ready to cultivate.

"Our foreſts are generally open, conſiſting of large trees, growing ſo thin that you may generally ride through every part of them, rarely having any underwood, and in ſome tracts they are wide enough for waggons to paſs every where: the labour, therefore, of clearing, when the wood is not of a proper ſort for lumber, is not great. We have immenſe numbers of wild mulberry

berry-trees, upon the leaves of which we feed our ſilk-worms, without forming any plantations for that purpoſe. Walnuts and hiccories are alſo very plentiful upon the beſt lands, and grow to a very great ſize."

A third letter contained the following particulars. " My plantation is ſituated on a ſmall but navigable creek, which falls into the river Savannah, about thirty miles weſt of Auguſta; when I firſt came, I had a very large tract of country to chuſe in, for the ſettlements to the weſt of that town at any diſtance from it were not numerous; had I then been as well acquainted with agriculture as I am now, I could have made choice of a plantation, conſiſting more entirely of rich land; but as it is, I have no great reaſon to complain, and what I loſe in ſoil, I gain in the extreme beauty of the ſituation.

My houſe is on the ſide of a hill; behind it is a fine ſpreading wood of oak, walnut, hiccory, &c. before it a large tract of graſs which I have cleared, and which is bounded by the river, whoſe courſe I command from almoſt every window, for three miles on each ſide: on the other ſide of it, and all round the lands adjacent to my houſe, are the fields which I have in cul-

ture. The whole plantation, which is my property, conſiſts of 6340 acres, at leaſt, in the rough manner in which the ſurveyor-general's people reported the ſurvey, that is, the quantity regiſtered; the only fence which ſurrounded it for ſome years, was trees market with a hatchet, or croſſes dug in the meadows, with here and there a poſt ſet up; but other ſettlers having ſince fixed near me, who have taken up ſmall grants of land, their fences have been made in ſome places in my boundary line, which have ſaved me the trouble. In ſome places I am yet open to the country not granted away; for this tract of land containing a large proportion of excellent ſoil, I paid not quite one hundred pounds, including every charge and fee incurred in order to procure it.

" The method here taken, is for the perſon who wants land to fix upon a ſpot and take what he likes, under condition of peopling it in a given number of years: I had twenty allowed me, but they are now giving only ten or fifteen years. It is not common to ſee people fixing by each other; they generally plant themſelves at a diſtance, for the ſake of having an uncultivated country around them for their cattle to range

range in: all the country not granted away belongs to the king, and is common for every man to turn his cattle upon, but not in the manner ſuch right is enjoyed in England, where the ſame thing is done not by permiſſion but by right; for here every new comer has a liberty of fixing in this common part of the country, and incloſing his property immediately if he pleaſes; ſo that the lands on which we turn our cattle farther than our own bounds, are continually decreaſing: the conſequence is, the planters who on this account have not range enough for their large ſtocks, take up new grants of ſmall quantities of land farther to the weſtward, for the ſake of ſending their cattle thither, by which means they are enabled to keep very great ſtocks, even ſo far as a thouſand head. I have four hundred and forty head of cows, oxen, bulls, heifers, &c. but their value is far from what it would be in England.

"The plenty of timber in this country is a great advantage to new ſettlers, in rendering their buildings and many of their utenſils of no other expence than that of labour, tools, and a little iron. My houſe, a barn, a ſtable, and ſome other conveniencies, coſt me no more at firſt than one hundred

dred and ſeventy-four pounds in caſh, and the labour of ten negroes during three months; this was done by hiring carpenters, and paying them by the month; and two of the ſlaves learnt ſo much of the art in that time, that by working ſince with them occaſionally, they are become good carpenters enough to raiſe a ſhed, or build any plain outhouſe, ſuch as you ſee common in England in little farm-yards: our wood is of ſo little value, that their making waſte is of no conſequence. I have made many additions to my houſe ſince, at a ſmall expence, ſo that it is now a very convenient and agreeable habitation.

"When I conſider that for one hundred pounds a man may in this rich and plentiful country buy an extenſive tract of land; that for two more he may raiſe a good houſe and offices; that he may buy ſlaves for thirty or forty pounds a-piece, or hire white labour a very little dearer than in England; and that he may ſettle himſelf with as few as he pleaſes, and increaſe them as he can; when this is conſidered, it ſurpriſes me to think that more people of ſmall fortunes do not come among us, but that they ſhould prefer the narrow way in which they muſt live in Europe. The

plenty of this country is much greater than you can think of; a little planter, that is a good gun-man himſelf, or has a ſlave that is ſo, may in half a day kill much more game than two families will eat in a week; and in parts of the country where it is comparatively ſcarce, an eaſy walk will yield him a day or two's ſubſiſtence of this ſort for a moderate table. By game we here underſtand deer, rabbits, wild kine, and wild hogs, turkies, geeſe, ducks, pigeons, partridges, teal, &c. Our rivers are equally abounding with excellent fiſh, which is an advantage not inferior to the other; and the two together in hunting, ſhooting, and fiſhing, affording a diverſion equal to what is met with in any part of the world, and ſuperior to moſt. Sporting here is carried on with unlimited freedom, and in a ſtyle far ſuperior to what I have any where elſe met with; and whoever keeps houſe in this country muſt preſently find the immenſe advantages attending the great plenty of theſe articles, which reduce all expences of this ſort very low. And now I am giving you the information you want on this head, I ſhall add, that our great plenty of fruit is another point in which this country is very fortunate; we have

melons, cucumbers, water-melons, peaches, pears, apples, plums, &c. &c. in any quantity we pleaſe, almoſt without trouble or culture. The climate is ſo favourable, that to plant them is all the attention requiſite. Upon a new ſettler fixing, one of his firſt works is to incloſe and plant a large orchard. Peaches are the moſt plentiful of any kind of fruit: a ſtone ſet, becomes a bearing tree in three years, and the fruit that drops from it riſes in young trees; ſo that a ſingle tree would become a wood of peaches in a few years, if they were not grubbed up.

"You ſee, Sir, from this account, upon the truth of which you may abſolutely relie, that you want for nothing in this country that nature can give us. Rich land is plentiful; building no where ſo cheap; game, fiſh, fleſh, fowl, and fruit, in the utmoſt profuſion; labour by ſlaves very cheap, by ſervants not dear. And to this may be added a government mild and equal, in which more liberty is no where to be found; taxes too trifling to be mentioned, and where neither tythes nor poor's rates are to be found: may I not therefore conclude, that if mere living well, plentifully, and at eaſe, be conſidered, no country can

exceed, perhaps not equal, this. In reſpect of ſociety, we are deficient; but this is made up to a ſtudious perſon, or one who does not diſlike retirement, by the amuſements of the field, by the employments of agriculture, and by reading; not however that we are without company; I have eight or nine neighbours within twenty miles of me, with whom I viſit; and ſome of them are families in which a rational converſation is by no means wanting!"— In a ſucceſſive letter the ſame perſon gave the following particulars.

—" Reſpecting the agriculture we purſue, about which you enquire, I ſhall give you the beſt account I am able: the objects moſt attended to are Indian corn, wheat, and proviſions, which long occupied this country chiefly; but for a few years paſt ſilk and indigo have made great ſtrides among us. The country near the ſea is not near ſo fertile in corn and proviſions as that about us; we therefore not only ſend great quantities for the Weſt India export, but alſo to feed the towns and rice plantations in part. I am much in doubt whether the common huſbandry of raiſing corn and proviſions be not as profitable as that of indigo or rice; the beſt planters

planters we have, and it is the ſame in Carolina, do not reckon they make in total product above 20l. or 25l. each for their working hands: I have exceeded this ſome years by Indian corn, wheat, &c. and ſome of my neighbours have carried it much farther than me, by more ſkill and cloſer application.

" The firſt buſineſs in our huſbandry is clearing the ground, which is for corn, generally done by grubbing the trees up by the roots in order for the plough to go: this method I have followed in all the land I have cleared: the expence is ſmall, from the eaſe of ſtirring the light ſoil; and after raiſing my houſe, offices, and negro camp, with lengths and poſts for fences, &c. the reſidue I have ſent down the river in ſeveral ſorts of lumber, as boards, planks, ſtaves, pieces, caſks, &c. to Auguſta and Savannah, but not with ſuch advantage as others lower down on the river, who have not ſuch a diſtance: after clearing, I have planted the land with Indian corn, for three and four years ſucceſſively, and got from thirty-five to ſixty buſhels an acre, and at the ſame time from twenty-five to fifty buſhels of Indian peaſe an acre. Of wheat my crops are not ſo great; but from

thirty to forty buſhels an acre is my uſual crop. Barley we alſo ſow, uſually after wheat or Indian corn; I get the ſame quantity as of wheat; I have ſome fields, the ſoil of which is ſo rich, that I have got for ſix years ſucceſſively crops of theſe kinds of grain, and all equally good, and I do not now find that the ſoil has much abated of its fertility; but in ſome of my fields, it begins to wear out; but fine graſs will come, and ſoon yield nearly as good profit as middling crops of corn. I do not think our farmers in England grow quite ſo many ſucceſſive crops of corn as we do here, yet I imagine our products to be much the largeſt. I have never laid on any dung or other manure for corn.

" My black deep loams, which were covered with wood, yield kitchen plants of very fine flavour and an extraordinary ſize; I allotted a piece of it near my houſe for a garden, in which ſeveral articles of common product much exceed what I remember ſeeing in England, and yet I have never manured it: this, however, is much owing to climate. I have raiſed cabbages of 60 lb. weight, and turneps of 25 lb. Potatoes thrive aſtoniſhingly in it; I have had 300 buſhels from a bed, which in ſize did

did not exceed a quarter of an acre; and ſeveral of my neighbours having found their great increaſe in this ſoil, have begun to go pretty much into them as an article of ſale: they find a ready market at Savannah for the Weſt Indies. I deſign taking the ſame hint, and believe they will be as profitable as any other article.

"There is one circumſtance in this country which is very valuable in planting; it is the warmth of the climate rendering it unneceſſary to houſe or otherwiſe attend cattle in winter more than in ſummer; they find their ſubſiſtence in the woods and natural meadows, and return home of nights only for the ſake of food given them, not ſo much through neceſſity, as to induce them to be regular. Our ſwine fare yet better, for the woods abound greatly with maſt and fruit of various ſorts, which they are greedy in finding, and keep themſelves fat on; but we uſe them to come home in the ſame manner as the kine. The number of hogs kept in this country by every planter is very great; they who begin only with a ſow or two, in a few years are maſters of fourſcore, or an hundred head; I have above three hundred of all ſorts and ſizes, and in a few years, if the

country does not ſettle very faſt, ſhall have twice or thrice as many. Pork and beef barrelled make a conſiderable article of our product; and hides are not the moſt inconſiderable part of the product of our cow kine.

" Beſides the articles I have mentioned, we cultivate indigo, ſilk, tobacco, and hemp, but not in ſuch large quantities (ſilk excepted) as they do in Carolina; I have them all upon my plantations; indigo and tobacco require the ſame ſoil, which is the richeſt and deepeſt we can give them, but it muſt be dry; tobacco is but juſt coming in, but we make as good, if not better than any in Virginia; and I am of opinion, ſince the price has riſen, it will be as beneficial as any article we can go upon. Hemp is ſown in the low lands on the rivers and in drained marſhes, where the ſoil is a ſtiff loam, upon clay: we do not reckon it ſo profitable as either indigo or tobacco; but as the land which ſuits it is not the right ſort for thoſe crops, it is cultivated in ſmall quantities. I cannot ſpeak with any preciſion of the products which my neighbours gain of theſe commodities, but I can tell you pretty accurately what I have done myſelf. When I had increaſed my

my ten negroes to twenty, from that number, eight of whom were women (who I ſhould obſerve do as much field-work as the men) they made me, with the help of five white labourers,

	l.	s.	d.
36 acres of Indian corn, the produce of which ſold for in ſterling money,	146	13	8
26 acres of wheat, the produce of which ſold for in ditto,	93	8	0
12 acres barley, the product of which ſold, yielded	18	10	0
40 barrels of pork at 1l. 12s.	64	0	0
26 ditto of beef at 1l. 2s.	28	12	0
16 acres tobacco yielded 12 hogſheads	96	0	0
33 pounds ſilk,	30	0	0
420 pounds of indigo from 4 acres and a half	52	10	0
Hides, live ſtock ſold, and ſmall articles,	47	18	0
	£. 577	11	8

This product from 25 hands is above 23l. each; but the two following years I had not ſuch good ſucceſs. You ſee, by this account, that I made 33 pounds of ſilk: this is an article which deſerves more attention than has been given it, either by the inhabitants of this province, or in encouragement from the mother-country: the number of hands who made this 33 lb. in a ſeaſon was but eleven, which is 3 lb. a-head. This appears to be a very conſiderable object; among them were four of my

my children (who did it by way of amuſement, and indeed a very rational one it is), and three women; they did not employ ſeven weeks in it, and I need not tell you that in this buſineſs it is but a part of the day that is employed. Georgia has, proportioned to its inhabitants, made a greater progreſs in feeding ſilk-worms than any of the other colonies, but yet her people do not make near the quantities they might; ſuppoſing they made but two pounds a-head, and leſs than this I have never made for every perſon I have employed in it, this would be a vaſt acquiſition for all the women, many of the children, the old men, and diſabled perſons, with proper aſſiſtance from others; and in Carolina, where the people are ſo much more numerous, the importance of the object would in a national light be ſtill greater. This is ſo favourite a theme with me, that were I to trouble you with all I could ſay on the ſubject, I ſhould go near to exhauſt your patience.

" Hemp has been too inconſiderable an article with me to come to market, but I hope next year to ſend two or three tons down to Savannah. It may be to your ſatisfaction alſo to know, that I have made

ſome

ſome trials of wine, not yet as an export, but have uſed ſeveral ſmall caſks in my own family, which have proved better than I expected. Four years ago I planted about a quarter of an acre of a dry rocky ſpot of land, hanging on the ſide of a hill, to the ſouth of which I thought promiſed well, I uſed ſetts of our native grapes, having no others; theſe are ſo plentiful all over the country, that you can ſcarce go an hundred yards without meeting with numbers. This little plantation, which, for want of better knowledge than I could gain from one or two treatiſes on the vineyard culture, was not managed near ſo well as it ought, has turned out much better than I expected. I have made wine from the ſame grapes growing wild, and have the ſatiſfaction to find that the produce of my cultivated ones is beyond compariſon of a finer flavour, which ſhews that we have much to hope from attending well to our native vines; were they managed with the ſkill that is exerted in the wine countries of Europe, they would perhaps turn out among the profitable articles of our huſbandry. One of the neighbouring planters, a Frenchman by birth, has written to France to a relation, to ſend a vigneron, well

well experienced, with ſome ſetts of the Burgundy grape: this is to be done at my expence, and I have good expectations from the ſcheme; though my neighbour is quite of a different opinion, and thinks that (farther than our own conſumption) if I make it ſucceed, the culture will not prove near ſo profitable as indigo: how far this will prove true, I am not yet a judge. Madeira, which is the only wine we import, comes very dear to us. If we could make a ſort ſufficiently good to be ſubſtituted for that, it would be a great acquiſition. I ſhall give you the account of my ſale in a year ſince the former, being nearly what my preſent produce is.

	l.	s.	d.
50 acres of Indian corn, produce in ſterling money	187	14	0
35 acres of wheat produce in ditto	132	0	0
20 acres of barley ditto	35	0	0
50 barrels of pork,	82	0	0
40 ditto of beef,	50	0	0
Hides,	24	10	0
Live ſtock ſold,	30	0	0
Lumber,	36	0	0
47 pounds of ſilk,	47	0	0
16 acres of tobacco, 11 hogſheads,	88	0	0
Indigo,	87	10	0
£.	799	14	0

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The number of negroes 25, and 5 white labourers, 30 in all; the total divided gives 26l. a-head; and this I believe may generally be equalled by thoſe who have any luck in fixing on tolerable land, without poſſeſſing great ſkill in chooſing the beſt.

"This, Sir, is a very important part of the information you requeſt me to give, as it explains to you what is to be expected from ſettling in this country; I have little doubt of your friend being able to make from 20l. to 30l. a-head annual produce, ſold at market, for all the working hands he employs, beſides ſupplying the plantation with all the proviſions conſumed, both by the family, ſlaves, cattle, poultry, &c. this however is not profit; for negroes coſt at preſent from 40l. to 50l. a-head, if good ones are bought. Cloathing, phyſic, attendance, &c. come to ſomething, and diſtempers will now and then break out among them which prove very deſtructive, though in general the increaſe will keep up the number. Implements, tools, furniture, manufactures, &c. &c. are all much dearer than in England, except the articles which are made of wood. Wine, tea, ſugar, and ſpices, are ſome of them dearer, and none of them cheaper, than in England. Re-

pairs of buildings is an article of ſome expence. Negroes muſt have an overſeer, at the annual expence of from 40l. to 60l. All theſe and ſome other articles are deductions from the planter's profit; nor ſhould I omit to add, Sir, that the nature of the country, as it prevents many of the expences which are common in England, ſo it brings on us others, of which you know nothing. Hoſpitality, to a degree totally unknown in Europe, is the virtue of all America; and a man can hardly through inclination, but eſpecially from example, be niggardly on any occaſions that call for it; his great expence will be wine, rum, and a few other articles of houſe-keeping; not that this amounts to any thing very conſiderable.

"In general, our planters are very much on the thriving hand, yet few are rich, though I have heard of ſome large fortunes in Carolina; we have ſcarce one in the province whoſe circumſtances do not improve. As to making a fortune, I believe no part of the world is better adapted for it, provided the planter is ſkilled in land, has a good degree of knowledge in matters of agriculture, and is very induſtrious and attentive to his buſineſs: you may eaſily ſuppoſe

poſe that all theſe qualifications are neceſſary; indeed I know of no buſineſs in which money is to be made without knowledge and induſtry: I muſt alſo add, that he ought to have his capital, eſpecially if it is not conſiderable, free; for intereſt here is 8, 9, and 10 per cent. and money even on ſuch terms very difficult to be got; he ſhould therefore poſſeſs, or raiſe whatever he wants, in England, for no dependance is to be had on getting any here.

"There are very great advantages in the huſbandry which is carried on in this country, of a nature not general in others, eſpecially in Europe; the quantity of land to be had by any perſon that pleaſes, is a circumſtance no where elſe to be met with on the globe, at leaſt in countries where the religious and civil liberty of mankind is ſecured; and among all our colonies, none has better land or a more favourable climate than the back parts of Georgia. The expences of living are low, and particularly the neceſſaries of life ſo very plentiful, that ſubſiſtence is no where eaſier gained; on the contrary, the articles of merchandize produced here yield a large price, as it is the nature of mankind to rate luxuries much higher than neceſſaries, and not to

let

let the value of one depend on that of the other. Thus the planter feeds and ſubſiſts himſelf and family very cheap, while he ſells his produce very dear: ſilk, indigo, wine, hemp, tobacco, &c. are by no means neceſſaries, but their value is much greater: this is a circumſtance of great value to the planter; how far you enjoy in the ſame in certain articles produced in England, I am not a good judge; luxurious articles may be very dear, but the neceſſaries which ſupport the planters and their workmen are dear alſo."

Theſe extracts, from pretty long correſpondence carried on with a view of ſettling a relation in Georgia (which is ſince done), I am happy in being allowed to inſert: it is true they principally concern only one plantation, but they abound with many valuable circumſtances that concern the whole province, and as ſuch could not but be deemed highly worthy of inſertion.

The following is a ſtate of the exports of Georgia, upon an average of three years ſince the peace.

	£.
18000 barrels of rice, at 40s.	36,000
Indigo, 17000 lb. at 2s.	1,700
Silk, 2500lb. at 20s.	2,500
Carried over,	40,200

Brought forward,	£.	40,200
Deer and other ſkins, - -		17,000
Boards, ſtaves, &c. - - -		11,000
Tortoiſe-ſhell, drugs, cattle, &c. -		6,000
	£.	74,200

But ſince this account was publiſhed the articles are moſt of them very much increaſed; the rice is raiſed to 23,000 barrels, and the price to 3l. 10s. ſo that this article alone makes more than the whole of the above articles; the indigo is proportionally increaſed, but the ſilk is declined: the Indian trade at Auguſta is alſo thriven very much of late.

Before I take my leave of this province it will be proper to mention the large tract of country lately acquired by the government of the Cherokees, containing by eſtimation about ſeven millions of acres. This country lies to the weſtward of Auguſta, and is bounded on one ſide by the Savannah's branches; from the deſcription I have heard of it, I apprehend the plantation deſcribed in the above letters very nearly reſembles it: the ſoil is as rich as any part of America; every article of ſpontaneous vegetation, luxuriant in the higheſt degree: the climate, like that of the weſtern part of all our ſouthern colonies which

bounds upon the Apalachean mountains, as deſirable as any in the world, both for the production of profitable ſtaples and healthineſs. It is further ſaid to be as well watered with ſtreams and rivers as can be wiſhed, with three or four of them navigable for large canoes. Many are the people who have given in petitions for grants of land in it, ſo that it is expected in Georgia the whole tract, large as it is, will be ſettled in a few years: the articles of culture upon which the planters will go are particularly indigo, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, vines, and ſilk, not to ſpeak of Indian corn, wheat, and other proviſions: for all theſe, it is ſaid, no part of America can be better adapted.

It is very much to be wiſhed, that ſo fine a tract of country may be put to the moſt advantageous uſe, particularly in reſpect of ſilk, wine, and hemp. Theſe are commodities which we want more than any others from our colonies, but for want of a proper ſoil and climate the nation has for ſo many years been diſappointed in its expectations; but there can be no doubt of all theſe articles doing as well in this newly-acquired country as in any part of the world, provided the right methods are taken

taken in the culture of them. Planters left entirely to themſelves are apt to fall into the articles of huſbandry to which they have been moſt acquainted, and not into thoſe which will pay them the greateſt profit, unleſs they have been before acquainted with them. But their chuſing their crops well is a matter of vaſt importance to this nation, and therefore proper means ſhould be taken to give them all the light and inſtruction that is wanting in any thing which it would be adviſeable for them to undertake. Perſons ſkilled in feeding ſilk-worms and winding the ſilk ſhould be diſtributed through every diſtrict of ſuch a country; ſuch might be got in America, and they ſhould teach, gratis, every family that was willing to learn the buſineſs. The ſame thing ſhould be done with vine-dreſſers from France, or perhaps better from Portugal, Spain, Italy, or Greece; theſe men ſhould move from plantation to plantation, to ſhew the planters the culture of vineyards—to aſſiſt in planting them, and alſo in dreſſing the vineyard: it would not be very expenſive to procure forty or fifty ſuch; and that number would in a few years be able to train up many pupils, and ſpread a tolerable knowledge of the

vineyard culture through two or three provinces. Hemp is better underſtood in America, the ſame means would not therefore be neceſſary. To theſe meaſures rewards, both honorary and pecuniary, ſhould be added, for ſuch planters as produced given quantities of the beſt wine, of ſilk, and of hemp: a couple of thouſand pounds a year beſtowed upon a province in ſuch premiums, would be ſufficient to introduce, in conjunction with the above mentioned meaſure, any article of culture the government would have them purſue; and nobody can doubt but the national intereſt would be far more advanced by ſuch an expenditure of public money, than injured by the loſs (ſuppoſing it ſuch) of a few thouſand pounds. There is ſcarcely any thing in domeſtic policy but what may be effected, and with profit, by means of premiums judiciouſly offered, and impartially given, provided means be at the ſame time taken to inſtruct the people, if the object required be out of their knowledge. Inſtead of acting thus, the bounty on ſilk has been ſuffered to expire.

Bounties and other encouragements of this nature have been of long ſtanding for hemp and other articles without effect; but this proves nothing in general. While the colon iſts

coloniſts were confined to the coaſts of America, by which I mean the flat, poor, ſandy tract of country which extends for 100 or 150 miles from the ſea, no encouragement would ever make any thing of hemp, ſilk, or wine, for the ſoil and climate were equally unfit for all; but now they have ſpread themſelves into the back or hilly country, where both ſoil and climate are eſſentially different, the caſe is different alſo; and much leſs encouragement would prove of high utility, than before was attended with no effect. For this reaſon, the old inefficacy of ſuch meaſures ſhould never be inſtanced as an argument againſt them at preſent.

Very many great and beneficial effects might be made to flow from the ſettling and planting the internal parts of our maritime colonies. Hemp is an article which coſts this nation ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds annually: it is beſides a neceſſary for our royal navy, which ought not to depend on the good pleaſure of any foreign nation, whatever friendſhip may be between us at preſent.

Flax is another import which we take from the Baltic, though our colonies would raiſe it as well, and parts of them perhaps much better.

I have not ſeen public accounts of what our import of wines of all ſorts is, but certainly it amounts to an immenſe ſum; the wealth of the nation would be very different if ſuch an import, chiefly from our own ſworn enemies, was transferred to our colonies, and inſtead of being paid for with caſh, as is the caſe with hemp, to be purchaſed with our manufactures.

Silk is another article which we import from China, at the expence of more than half a million ſterling; yet our ſilk-mills are univerſal in affirming, that what we have had from America is equal to the beſt we receive elſewhere: ſurely therefore it much behoves the government to promote whatever meaſures have a tendency to render ſilk an article of conſideration in the imports from America, inſtead of ſuffering old ones to expire.

Oil is another import which coſts this country great ſums of money: none is or can be produced at home; but the olive thrives well in the interior part of Georgia, and might be made a valuable article in the products of that province, eſpecially the new acquired diſtrict.

Madder we buy of the Dutch, to the amount of more than two hundred thouſand pounds a year; thoſe induſtrious people raiſe

raiſe it in the province of Zealand, that is, in a country far inferior in ſoil to the back parts of Georgia, where are tracts of rich deep black loam that would produce prodigious crops of it: no article of American huſbandry would prove a more profitable ſtaple.

Wool we take in large quantities of Spain, becauſe it is of a kind we cannot produce in England: our colonies on the continent of North America, ſouth of New York, produce a wool entirely ſimilar to the Spaniſh; no ſtaple they could produce would therefore be more advantageous to Great Britain. It is well known that a piece of fine broad cloth cannot be made without Spaniſh wool; it is alſo known that the Spaniards have of late years made great efforts to work up their own wool; if they ſhould ſucceed, or if they ſhould by any other means prevent the export of it, our woollen fabrics, though they might not be ſtopped, would at leaſt be burthened with a freſh expence and new trouble; all which would be prevented by encouraging the import of wool from America; and at the ſame time that this good effect was wrought, another would be brought about

in cramping the manufactures of the colonies; of which more hereafter.

Cotton we import from Turkey at the expence of above two hundred thouſand pounds a year; this commodity agrees well with the ſoil and climate of Georgia, eſpecially thoſe of the back parts of the province: I am ſenſible that our Weſt India iſlands would produce it, but the land which is ſo occupied there would produce more valuable ſtaples; there we want land, but on the continent is more land than we know what to do with; it is here therefore that it ſhould be produced.

Theſe imports might be enlarged to a greater number, were it neceſſary, but they are ſufficient to ſhew that the nation takes from foreign countries, and from enemies, commodities to a very great amount, which ſhe might have produced in her colonies. It is at preſent the opinion of many mercantile gentlemen, that the balance of all our trades, except America and the Eaſt Indies, is againſt us; if ſo, it muſt undeniably be owing in a great meaſure to the great conſumption of theſe articles, many of which are taken from countries that take little from us: if our colonies produced them, we ſhould, on the contrary,

pay

pay for them with our manufactures, a circumſtance eſſentially different from having them in any other mode.

A writer who has taken great pains to be well informed, has given the following account of ſome of theſe imports.

	£.
Hemp and flax, - - -	400,000
Wine and brandy from France alone in 1663, 100,000	
Suppoſe the total - - -	1,000,000
Ireland alone in one article, claret, takes 150,000l.	
Silk, - - - -	1,825,000
Cotton, - - - -	* 300,000
Madder other accounts make -	250,000
Let us ſuppoſe oil - - - -	50,000
And for wool - - - -	50,000
Total.	3,875,000

Other imports, which do not concern ſo immediately our *ſouthern* colonies, as iron, timber, &c. &c. would run this account up to a much greater height: but if the total did not amount to more than half of it, ſurely the ſum is too conſiderable to take from foreign nations, in articles which we might produce generally as well in our own colonies.

* *Political Eſſays concerning the preſent State of the Britiſh Empire*, 1771.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

EAST FLORIDA.

Falſe deſcriptions of the country—Climate—Soil—Productions—Obſervations.

WEST FLORIDA.

Climate — Soil — Importance of theſe provinces relative to ſituation and commerce—Obſervations.

IN ſuch a free country as Britain, new acquiſitions made at a peace will not be well underſtood for ſome years. The party who concludes the treaty will in the nature of things extol the terms they have gained, and for that purpoſe magnify the acquiſitions they have made: on the other hand, the party in oppoſition will be ſure to condemn the treaty, and depreciate the value of the territories acquired; and what is a great misfortune in ſuch a caſe, is the almoſt univerſal influence of parties: few men that actually go to the countries in queſtion, but whoſe judgment or report will be warped

warped by their connections or political opinions. Moſt of the people who frequent ſuch countries are ſoldiers, ſailors, governors, civil officers, or traders, and if any of theſe ſhould publiſh accounts, not much ſtrict truth is always met with in their deſcriptions; either from being fearful to offend their ſuperiors, or from motives of intereſt. It happened thus with the Floridas. The miniſtry, upon the concluſion of the peace, ſent a phyſician, who had no buſineſs to leave in England, to view and deſcribe Eaſt Florida; though upon his return he found his employers out of office, and a new adminiſtration, yet as his was an official buſineſs, he dedicated his book to the miniſter of the day: it contained an account of that province, which made it appear to be one of the fineſt countries in the world, and proved it a moſt valuable acquiſition. This was juſt the report which the world might rationally have expected; for certainly a man on ſuch an errand would take care, firſt to recommend himſelf to his patrons, which he could do no ways ſo effectually as by praiſing the acquiſitions they had made to the ſkies: in this work, indeed, he did not proceed on thoſe principles of integrity which he ought to have done.

done. An American botaniſt accompanied him in a part of his journey through the province, and kept a journal; this made a part of the above-mentioned publication; but inſtead of being publiſhed fairly, it was mangled, and the man's general opinion of the country, which was by no means favourable to it, ſuppreſſed. Such a conduct, at one ſtroke, was ſufficient to convince the reader that little or no dependance could be placed in what was advanced by a man who could prove, in ſo material an inſtance, faithleſs to the public.

On the other hand, direct contrary accounts were publiſhed by others, who were ſo far from agreeing to the merit of the country ſet forth by its friends, that they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted it had no pretenſions to any ſort of merit: they totally denied all value to it, ridiculed the title of acquiſition, conſidered the country as a heavy burthen, and condemned the peace-makers with the loudeſt voice, for accepting ſuch a recompenſe in exchange for glorious and valuable conqueſts made in the war. Here therefore were two parties in ſuch direct oppoſition to each other, that a conſiderable part of what they wrote might fairly be attributed to political prejudice, and this on both

both ſides, the conſequence of which was, that the world could form but a very vague gueſs of the real truth.

Such is the ſtate of public intelligence concerning the Floridas; all the information to be gained concerning them, is that of private people who have reſided there: I have been as attentive as poſſible in making numerous enquiries, of planters, agents, officers, &c. who have been any time in thoſe countries; I have compared their accounts, and from the intelligence I have gained, have drawn up the following deſcription, ſupplying ſome deficiencies by reaſoning from analogy of Georgia and Carolina, and others from public accounts, of a date antecedent to our having any connection with Florida, and conſequently free from all party prejudice. The account will be incomplete, as the ſources from which it is drawn are ſo; but it had much better be incomplete than otherwiſe, if to make it ſo, bad intelligence, or ſuch as was unſatisfactory, was taken to render it full. In a few particulars (wherein it would anſwer little purpoſe in him to vary from the truth), I follow Dr. Stork.

Eaſt Florida is ſituated between lat. 25 and 32, it extends conſequently much to the

the ſouth of any of our other colonies, which makes the climate hotter; a conſiderable part of it forms a peninſula, which projects to the ſouth: this circumſtance is both an advantage and a diſadvantage; in the firſt place, it makes the air cooler by a regular ſea and land breeze, than in the maritime part of Georgia; but on the other hand, this benefit is almoſt preponderated by the increaſed quantiiy of rain which falls; it is the miſchief of all theſe ſouthern coaſts of America, that they are deluged with rain, which, ſtagnating in the ſwamps of a flat hot country, poiſons the air. The rains that fall in Florida are almoſt inceſſant. This in a hot climate muſt make it very unhealthy, ſince thoſe are the wholeſomeſt countries near the troprics, where it ſeldom rains. Peru is perfectly healthy, and there it never rains at all. Relative to the health and fertility of this country, there is one circumſtance that is deciſive; all the ſouthern colonies I have elſewhere remarked, conſiſt of a maritime and a back country, the latter of which reaches to the Apalachean mountains; now the flat ſandy coaſt, full of ſwamps and marſhes, is alike in them all, being equally ſteril and unwholeſome; but when this flat

flat country is paſſed, and you arrive at the hilly dry tracts, free from ſwamps, you then find a country perfectly healthy, and very fruitful. Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland, are all extremely ſimilar in the appearance of their coaſts; the flat ſandy tract is the ſame in them all, except that their ſmall degree of fertility increaſes as you advance northward, as regularly as the arrangement of the colonies. Now this circumſtance is abſolutely deciſive againſt Eaſt Florida, for unfortunately, that province conſiſts of nothing elſe but the flat ſandy country; it has no back country, for where you ſhould meet with the riſing drier tract, you come to the ſwamps and marſhes of Weſt Florida; therefore not a hill is to be met with in the whole province: it conſiſts of marſhes after marſhes, ſwamps after ſwamps, pine barrens upon pine barrens, but no ſound good loam like the hiccory lands in the back parts of Georgia, &c. Indeed the general ſpontaneous produce of the province ſhews us what the ſoil is. Good lands in this part of America are covered with woods of tall red hiccories as high and ſtraight as elms; white, cheſnut, and ſcarlet oaks; tulip trees; black walnuts; locuſts, &c.

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But ſingle trees of theſe are rare in Eaſt Florida, and not a wood of them is to be found in the whole province.

Now theſe two circumſtances are ſuch as can neither be miſtaken nor miſunderſtood; the flat ſituation of the country, and the ſpontaneous produce; the one may be in a ſmall degree remedied by the ſea and land breezes; and ſmall patches of tolerable (not good) land may be quoted in anſwer to the other; but as to the country in general, it muſt be condemned on compariſon with very great tracts in our old colonies. This I muſt own appears to me to be clearly deducible from the circumſtances in queſtion; party on either ſide cannot alter or deceive one in ſuch points, becauſe they are certainly matters of fact, and not opinion; nor could there well be a greater piece of impoſition on the public, than publiſhing the direct contrary.

Relative to the ſoil and face of the country, it reſembles, as I before obſerved, the maritime parts of the other ſouthern colonies: it conſiſts chiefly of ſwamps and marſhes, or tracts of ſandy white pine ground; the former are covered with the ſpontaneous growth of the country, live oaks, chinkapins, bays, liquid amber, water

ter oaks, and ſtunted cypreſſes. In fertility for the product of rice, there are ſome of them which it is imagined will anſwer well; when the ſwamps more to the north are exhauſted or turned to meadow, which, however, is not likely ever to be the caſe; and therefore the merit of this capability is not of much conſequence: the ſwamps we were in poſſeſſion of, before the acquiſition of Florida was made, would, if culticated, produce more rice than half the world conſumes.

The reſt of the country is in general a pine barren, with very ſmall ſpots of better land, which the Indians of Florida formerly grew their maize on: now the pine barren is the worſt land of America, but to ſay that it is abſolutely ſterile, would be aſſerting an untruth; for no ſoil can be ſuch in a climate that is very wet and very hot, ſince thoſe two agents will every where make the worſt of land produce ſomething: this pine barren will, when cleared, produce indigo, Indian corn, and ſome other crops; but then it is not the proper ſoil for any one of them, and ſuch as no perſon would move to, from the worſt of our colonies, in order to cultivate them. This ſeems to be the plain fact, when cleared from the

attendants which prejudice has given it. The country will produce rice and indigo, and a few other unimportant articles; but the culture will not by any means be ſo advantageous as the ſame articles in Carolina.

Several plantations have been formed, ſtocked with negroes, and ſet to work on rice, indigo, Indian corn, ſugar, cotton, hemp, and cochineal. Among theſe the plantations of Mr. Rolle, governor Grant, the earl of Egmont, and Mr. Taylor, are the principal; none of theſe have been able to bring any dubious article of culture into profit, ſuch as ſugar, cotton, cochineal, hemp, &c. on the contrary, had they not depended on rice and indigo, they would have loſt their whole capital, and with the aſſiſtance of thoſe articles, which in Carolina, are almoſt uniformly profitable, they have moſt of them loſt ſuch large ſums of money, as to break up ſome of the plantations, and give no ſlight languor to them all. The deſcription publiſhed of the province induced many to ſet about planting; they expected returns of ſugar, cotton, cochineal, and hemp, and made little doubt of ſoon acquiring great fortunes: all they met with was diſappointment on diſap-

diſappointment; this chagrined them, and perhaps they were then little inclined to do even juſtice to their own beginnings. But all men who have any ideas of planting in America, whether by going thither themſelves, or under the conduct of agents, ſhould conſider well the country which they chuſe. Had the gentlemen who have laid out large ſums in planting Florida conſidered what the country probably was, from reaſoning by analogy with Georgia, Carolina, &c. they would preſently have perceived that it would have been more advantageous to ſettle in the back parts of our old colonies, than in our new acquiſitions of the Floridas.

In reſpect to Weſt Florida, we have a little intelligence which can be depended on, as it is principally of an older date than our acquiſition of it. The whole coaſt has been well known ever ſince the year 1719, and the many accounts the French have given of it, to be nothing but ſuch a ſandy deſart; "the land is nothing but a fine ſand, as white and ſhining as ſnow *." This is the account they give of the country from the Miſſiſſippi to Mobile; of

* *Du Pratz Hiſt. de Louiſ.* l. 52.

which laſt an officer of twenty years experience in the country gives his opinion in theſe words: "I never could ſee for what reaſon this fort was built, or what could be the uſe of it; although it is 120 leagues from New Orleans, it muſt be ſupplied from thence; the ſoil is ſo bad, being nothing but ſand, that it produces nothing but pine trees, or a little pulſe, which is but indifferent of the kind *." They only ſettled there for the ſake of a port in Dauphin iſle, and which was choaked up by the ſhifting of the ſands in a gale of wind, and leaves the place without any port above the depth of nine feet. Their other ſettlements on this coaſt, they tell us, "only deſerved an oblivion as laſting as their duration was ſhort." They then took Penſacola from the Spaniards, but found it only fit to diſmantle and abandon; on which they retired to the Miſſiſſippi, as we muſt do if ever we would hold that country. The greateſt part of Florida was ſurveyed in 1708, by Captain Mairn from Carolina, who gives this account of it for about an hundred miles ſquare round Penſacola. "All this country is a *pine barren* (ſandy

* *Du Mont. Mem. de la Louiſ.* tom. ii. p. 80.

deſart),

deſart), without any water in it;" that is, it has neither earth nor water in it, and muſt therefore be very unfit for a *plantation*. All the reſt appears to be the ſame where it is not ſwampy and marſhy. We may ſay of the whole, what Father Charlevoix, who travelled all over it, ſays of the next poſt at St. Joſeph's, which lies in the middle of the country upon the borders of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, "it is a wretched country *(un pays perdu)*, and a mere barren ſand, on a flat and bleak ſea-coaſt—the laſt place on earth where one would expect to meet with any mortal, and above all with chriſtians *." The following account was wrote by an officer from Penſacola, and has been confirmed by other eye-witneſſes. "My expectations with regard to this country, and the hopes of every one elſe, are ſunk to the loweſt pitch. Inſtead of the fineſt country in the world (as Weſt Florida was called), we found the moſt ſandy, barren, and deſart land, that eyes could ſee or imagination paint! not capable of producing a ſingle vegetable, nor the leaſt proſpect of improving it! as the ſoil for an hundred miles back is every where

* *Hiſt. N. France*, vi. p. 263.

the ſame as the ſea-ſhore, and conſiſts not of earth but of the whiteſt ſand you ever ſaw;" which agrees with the account of Capt. Mairn above. "In ſummer it is too hot to go abroad in the day time; the months of July, Auguſt, and September, are ſaid to be as hot as at Jamaica. The winter is very cold; but as it depends on what wind blows, that is very uncertain. You have often contrary extremes in the ſame day; a ſouth wind ſcorches, and a north wind freezes, which muſt be very diſagreeable. There is ſo much ſickneſs at Mobile, that almoſt all the officers are ill, and only ſixty men of a regiment able to do duty;" which was afterwards the caſe at Penſacola.

This is the firſt part of North America that was ever attempted to be ſettled, and has been better known than any part of the continent, although it ſeems now to be almoſt unknown and forgotten. It was firſt undertaken to be ſettled by John Ponce in 1512; Vaſquez d'Ayllon in 1520, and 1524; Pamphilo Navarez, who had a grant of it in 1528; Fernando Soto from 1539 to 1541; a company of miſſionaries in 1549; Pedro de Melendez, who had a grant of all the ſouthern parts of North America

America in 1562 to 1586; the French under Ribault and Laudonniere from 1562 to 1567; but they all found the country to be ſo poor and barren, that they abandoned it, inſomuch that it has never been ſettled as a colony to this day. Soto travelled all over the weſtern parts of the peninſula, from the bay of Spirito Santo, where he landed, and tells us from that to the inland parts of Georgia, "that country which is no leſs than 350 leagues in extent, is a light and ſoft ſand, full of ſwamps, and very high and thick buſhes, which is very poor and barren;" but where lands bear nothing but buſhes or underwoods in America, they are good for nothing. Narvaez again ſearched all the eaſtern and inland parts for 280 leagues, "and found it to be all a low flat ſand, full of ſwamps, with a ſad and diſmal aſpect throughout the whole country." "Solum omne quod hactenus luſtraverant (ſecundum ipſorum calculum 280 leucarum) planum erat atque arenoſum multis ſtagnis riguum—Triſtem & ſqualidam regionis faciem renuntiavit *."

* *De Laet.* l. iv. c. 3. *Herrera*, dec. iv. l. 4 c. 4.

From all theſe accounts, and from all the authentic documents with which the council of the Indies in Spain could furniſh him, which were numerous, the hiſtorian of America again informs us, "Florida is a poor country, without any commodity but a few ſorry pearls, and all who ever went to it died in miſery *."

The bounds of both the Floridas were ſettled by proclamation in the autumn of 1763: they extend northwards, the eaſt province to the limits of Georgia, and the weſt to the 31ſt degree of north latitude: now it is to be remarked, that the barren noxious country juſt deſcribed on various authorities, extends a very little farther than lat. 31, for when you come to Manchac on the Miſſiſſippi the high lands begin, and a country in every reſpect the reverſe of Weſt Florida. Thoſe accounts and writings therefore which repreſent this country in a favourable light, muſt undoubtedly have reference only to the tract of high country beyond the *new* limits of the province. I ſhall hereafter ſhew that that country is one of the fineſt in the world.

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* *Preſent State of Great Britain and North America*, p. 197.

* *Herrera*, dec. iii. l. 8. c. 8.

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The deſcription here given of the two Floridas may be ſuppoſed to carry a ſtrong condemnation of that article in the peace of Paris, which gave to Spain an object of vaſt value in return for a province, which apparently was not worth the expence of keeping; but the ſame impartiality which was my guide in deſcribing the climate and ſoil, obliges me to declare, that this idea would not be ſo juſt as it may at firſt ſight appear: if Florida was accepted with a view only for cultivation and colonizing upon the ſame principles as other colonies, I ſhould agree that the remark would be undeniably juſt, but the matter may reaſonably be put in a quite different light. Florida was an acquiſition worth making, upon the principles of removing a dangerous neighbour, and acquiring the poſſeſſion of a coaſt equally well ſituated for cramping, in caſe of war, the commerce of the Spaniſh colonies, or carrying on a clandeſtine trade with them. When Georgia was ſettled with a view to rendering it a frontier againſt the enemy, and when general Oglethorpe executed the expedition againſt St. Auguſtine, had he ſucceeded in it, and conquered the whole of the two Floridas, we ſhould then have had pens in plenty to prove

prove the importance of the country: conſidered in this light it is of importance; at St. Auguſtine the Spaniards were dangerous enemies, and would have continued ſo till Georgia became far more populous than it is at preſent; they alſo afforded a retreat to runaway negroes, which was a great inconvenience. The point of carrying on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh colonies is more important; this may be judged of by the fact of the imports from Weſt Florida, amounting ſoon after the peace, and notwithſtanding Mr. Grenville's prepoſterous regulations, to the annual ſum of 63,000 l. in Spaniſh dollars, a ſum ſuperior to what was received from Georgia thirty years after ſettling at an immenſe expence, and is an earneſt of what may in future be expected, if a more politic conduct is purſued.

That the poſſeſſion of ſo great an extent of coaſt, bounding a ſtreight, through which the Spaniſh galleons have their courſe, may prove, in caſe of war, a very valuable acquiſition, cannot be denied; for by means of the ports this coaſt yields us, we may be able to cruize for the enemies ſhips with much greater probability of ſucceſs, than we ever had before in this part of the world.

world. Nor ſhould it be forgotten that the poſſeſſion of theſe provinces renders our dominion in North America complete; the whole territory of that continent, eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, is now entirely ours; the courſe of that river is now open to us to its mouth, a matter perhaps of more conſequence in future than all the other points I have mentioned, and which we could not have had ſecurely without the joint ceſſion of Florida, and the eaſtern Louiſiana; there is a roundneſs now in our continental dominions which will ſave our poſterity, if not ourſelves, no ſlight expences.

That theſe are circumſtances of merit, can be denied by none but men who are determined to judge and condemn compendiouſly, and without the trouble of diſcrimination; but ſuch general and conciſe determinations are ſeldom founded in that degree of accuracy and truth which a candid enquirer will naturally demand. How far the country is adequate to the reaſonable expectations of the kingdom—for the great ſacrifices made for it, is another equiry, not fit to be made at preſent, while the parties who made the peace, and thoſe who oppoſed it are yet living, and their politics yet the ſignal for arrangement

ment in party matters; nor is ſuch an enquiry ſo nearly connected with the ſubject of this work, as the objects which I have principally treated of. What I have laid before the reader is ſufficient to ſhew that the rational plan of proceeding with relation to theſe provinces, is to ſecure the coaſts by a few ſtrong and well ſituated fortreſſes, that the country may be ſafe from the attacks of enemies, and that there may be the proper accommodations for ſhipping, for the views of attack in time of war, and trade in time of peace; as to planting, none ſhould be encouraged but ſuch as was ſubordinate to the deſign of ſupplying the garriſons and ſhipping. By no encouragement, however, I do not mean reſtrictions, but avoiding thoſe public means of bringing new ſettlers, which are often put in execution: ſuch people will be employed to far more national purpoſes in other parts of our colonies, which exceed Florida equally in health and fertility. As the ſtrength of the Spaniards is now collected at New Orleans, and as the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi is much the moſt important object we have in this part of the world, the government ſhould be particularly attentive to keeping all the forts,

forts, ſtations, and fortreſſes in that part of the province in the beſt condition, that in caſe of a rupture with Spain, we might there be ſecure. When the new colony of the Ohio comes to flouriſh, in that manner which it certainly will in a few years, the infinite importance of this object will be ſtriking to every one; nor ſhould we forget the noble tract of fertile country we have on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, which will one day or other be among the moſt important parts of all America, and which will almoſt entirely depend on the undiſturbed enjoyment of the free navigation of that river.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

EASTERN LOUISIANA.

Territory eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi—Climate — Soil— Great fertility — Productions—Cattle—Face of the country — Staples produced here by the French—Propoſed colony—Obſervations.

I Give the name of Eaſtern Louiſiana to the tract of country on the eaſt ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, from the boundary of Weſt Florida to the forks of that river, formed by its junction with the Ohio. This country reaches from lat. 31 and ½ to lat. 37 and ½; and from eaſt to weſt I extend it to the countries of the Chicaſaw, Cherokee, and Creek Indians, which is about the diſtance of from 150 to 300 miles; this ſpace being entirely free from the habitations, huntings, and claims of the Indians, having been in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the French till their ceſſion of it to Great Britain, and ſettled and planted at various places according to the inclinations of the individuals, who came from France

or

or Canada. The country weſt of the river is that part of Louiſiana which they retained, and afterwards ceded to the Spaniards.

This territory was left as hunting ground for the Indians in the proclamation, which ſettled the bounds of our colonies, in 1763, an arrangement which has ſince been juſtly and ſeverely condemned; ſince it was in this inſtance, as well as in that of the Ohio, the giving up the beſt countries acquired by the late war, at the ſame time that we planted the worſt. But as I conceive that this territory of the Miſſiſſippi will come in a few years to be ſettled and planted, from the ſame cogent reaſons which have at laſt induced the government to allow the ſettlement of the Ohio, I think it will be highly proper to give the beſt deſcription of it that can be procured, in thoſe circumſtances which relate to agriculture. I am the rather induced to do this, as I have it in my power, from the information I have received from an ingenious gentleman of South Carolina, and likewiſe from two officers, all of whom either travelled through, or reſided in the country, to lay before the reader a few circumſtances not ſufficiently known before.

Their

Their intelligence alſo enables me to diſtinguiſh, in the accounts that have been publiſhed of the country, facts from errors and miſtakes.

Relative to the climate of this country it reſembles that of the back territories of Carolina, near the mountains, but is at the ſame time generally allowed to be better and more healthy; particularly in the circumſtance of not being ſo hot in ſummer, nor ſo cold in winter. The whole territory enjoys much ſuch a temperature as the beſt parts of Spain: the air is clear, dry, and pure, perfectly free from all miſts and fogs. This quality is much owing to the country being remarkably high and dry; in general from one to two hundred feet higher than the river in its greateſt floods: there is not a ſwamp or a marſh in the whole country; no ſtinking unhealthy effluvia to thicken and poiſon the air, which in ſo conſiderable a tract of our colonies is deſtruction to the health of the inhabitants. The heats here are very ſeldom oppreſſive, from the dryneſs of the air; and inſtead of the inceſſant and heavy rains which ſurpriſe Europeans in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, it on the contrary ſeldom rains on the Miſſiſſippi, north of the bounds of Weſt Florida,

Florida, that is, in the high country. This circumſtance is very valuable, not upon account of healthineſs only, but for ſeveral valuable articles of cultivation, particularly ſilk and wine. The reader cannot attend too much to the climate of this country, becauſe very eſſential intereſts will by and by depend on it; whenever the propoſition to ſettle it is made, objections may perhaps ariſe on account of climate, and new tales in ſupport of Lords of *Trade*, who oppoſe *plantations*; but let the world then recollect the accounts which have been long ago given of this province, and which in every circumſtance of climate has been uniformly deſcribed by every perſon that has been there. Had the countries which have been of late years colonized (particularly Nova Scotia and the Floridas) been deſcribed in a juſt and true manner, in all the circumſtances of climate and ſoil, errors which have been made might not have happened. But with relation to the tracts of country on the Miſſiſſippi, all travellers, reſidents, writers, &c. agree in one general and uniform voice, all deſcribe the climate as being perfectly wholeſome, free from exceſſive and oppreſſive heats, from fogs, damps, rains,

and ſuch intenſe colds, as are felt on the coaſt of Carolina in the ſame latitude. In all theſe reſpects, no country can be more truly deſirable.

The ſoil of this country is not at all inferior to the climate. Du Pratz, who reſided ſixteen years in Louiſiana, and eight of them at the poſt at Natchez, and who from his profeſſion of a planter muſt neceſſarily be a judge of land, ſpeaks of it in terms, that leave one nothing to doubt. From that part of it to the Ohio, which is about 900 miles, the ſlope of the lands goes off perpendicularly from the Miſſiſſippi, being on the banks of that river, from one to two hundred feet high. All theſe high lands are, beſides, ſurmounted in a good many places, by little eminences or ſmall hills, and riſing grounds, running off lengthwiſe with gentle ſlopes. It is only when we go a little way from the Miſſiſſippi that we find theſe high-lands are overtopped by little mountains, which appear to be all of earth though ſteep, without the leaſt gravel or pebble being perceived on them. The ſoil, continues he, on theſe high lands is very good. It is a black light mould, about three feet deep, on the hills or riſing grounds: this upper earth lies

lies upon a reddiſh clay, very ſtrong and ſtiff; the loweſt places between theſe hills are of the ſame nature, but there the black earth is between five and ſix feet deep. The graſs growing in the hollows is of the height of a man, and very ſlender and fine; whereas the graſs of the ſame meadow on the high lands riſes ſcarce knee deep, as it does on the higheſt eminences. All theſe lands are either meadows or foreſts of tall trees, with graſs up to the knee; the timber is oak, hiccory, mulberry, &c. Even reeds and canes grow on the hill ſides, tho' they are found in our maritime colonies only in the richeſt ſwamps.

All the accounts we have had, both public and private, agree in theſe circumſtances, and nothing can be more deciſive of the excellency of the lands in this country. In the ſouthern parts of this continent graſs is very ſcarce every where but on the richeſt lands; inſomuch that it is no unſatisfactory proof of the ſoil being good to find a plenty of any graſs, much more ſuch a luxuriant produce of it as is met with even on the hills of this country. The trees are no leſs indications of what the nature of the land is, being ſuch as are

only found on good ſoils, and of a ſize and ſtraitneſs met with alone on the very richeſt.

Charlevoix, who from the vaſt extent of his travels was no ſtranger to theſe appearances of various kinds which denote good land, and in general a fine country, has ſeveral particulars which it is proper to tranſcribe: ſpeaking of his entrance into this country from the north, he ſays, "There is not, in my opinion, a place in all Louiſiana more proper for a ſettlement than the fork at the junction of the Miſſiſſippi and the Ohio, nor where it is of greater importance to have one; the whole country watered by the Ouabache and Ohio, which runs into it, is extremely fertile, conſiſting of vaſt meadows." A later writer, of our own country, makes the ſame remark: "the moſt important place in this country, and perhaps in all North America, is at the forks of the Miſſiſſippi, where the Ohio falls into that river, which, like another ocean, is the general receptacle of all the rivers that water the interior parts of that vaſt continent. Here thoſe large and navigable rivers, the Ohio, the Cherokee river, Illionois, Miſſouri, and Miſſiſſippi, beſides many others which ſpread over that whole

whole continent, from the Apalachean mountains to the mountains of New Mexico, upwards of a thouſand miles both north, ſouth, eaſt, and weſt, all meet together at this ſpot; and that in the beſt climate and one of the moſt fruitful countries of any in all that part of the world; in the latitude 37°, the latitude of the capes of Virginia, and of Sante Fé, the capital of New Mexico. By that means there is a convenient navigation to this place from our preſent ſettlements to New Mexico, and from all the inland parts of North America, farther than we are acquainted with it; and all the natives of that continent have by that means a free and ready acceſs to this place. In ſhort, this place is in the center of that vaſt continent, and of all the nations in it, and ſeems to be intended by nature to command them both; for which reaſon it ought no longer to be neglected by Britain.

" Upon the neighbourhood of the Chiſaw river, Charlevoix remarks, that the country is delightful; the meadows preſerve their verdure in the winter, and a conſiderable number of well-wooded iſlands in the Miſſiſſippi, ſome of which are pretty large, form very beautiful canals, through

which the largeſt ſhips may ſafely paſs; it being affirmed that there is ſixty fathom water in the Miſſiſſippi above 150 leagues from the ſea. As to the foreſts, which almoſt entirely cover this immenſe country, there is nothing perhaps in nature comparable to them, whether we conſider the ſize and height of the trees, or their variety and the advantages which may be drawn from them; for excepting dying woods, which require a warmer ſoil, and are only to be met with between the tropics, there is hardly any ſort of trees which can be mentioned that are not to be found here. There are foreſts of cypreſs eight or ten leagues in extent, all the trees of which are of a thickneſs proportioned to their height, ſurpaſſing every thing we have of that kind in France. That ſort of ever-green laurel, which we have called the tulip-tree on account of the ſhape of its flower, is now beginning to be known in Europe. This grows to a greater height than the cheſnut-tree of India, and its leaf is much more beautiful. The canton of Natchez is the fineſt, moſt fertile, and beſt peopled of all Louiſiana; it lies at the diſtance of about forty leagues from the Yazows, upon the ſame ſide of the river. Several little hills appear above th fort, which

which is called Roſalie, and when theſe are once paſſed, we ſee on all ſides very large meadows, ſeparated from one another by ſmall thickets of wood, which produce a very fine effect. The trees moſt common in theſe woods are the oak, and thoſe which produce nuts: the ſoil is every where excellent. The late Monſ. d'Iberville, who firſt entered the Miſſiſſippi by its mouth, having penetrated ſo far up as the Natchez, found the country ſo delightful and ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that he concluded the metropolis of the new colony could no where be better placed. If ever Louiſiana becomes a flouriſhing colony, as it may very well happen, it is my opinion there cannot be a better ſituation for a capital than this. It is not liable to be overflowed by the river, has a very pure air, and a great extent of country; the ſoil is well watered, and capable of producing every thing. Nor is it at too great a diſtance from the ſea, and there is nothing to prevent ſhipping from going up to it. Laſtly, it is at a convenient diſtance from all thoſe places where there can be any deſign of making ſettlements."

Ths reader will remark, that theſe ſeveral accounts are perfectly conſiſtent; it

is evident from them that all this country, to the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, is one of the fineſt in the world in reſpect of climate and ſoil; the air is pleaſant and healthy, the heats are never oppreſſive, nor the froſts injurious; the atmoſphere is clear and dry, and free from the impurities with which it is loaded in countries abounding with marſhes and ſwamps: the circumſtance of the face of the country being high, and either hilly or ſloping off in gradual aſcents, and the ſoil at the ſame time deep and rich, is uncommon and particularly valuable; for great fertility in ſuch healthy regions is by no means generally found. The ſpontaneous productions are alſo ſuch as give the moſt perfect ſatisfaction, whether taken as mere indications of what the ſoil is, or for their native value. Some of them have been mentioned, but others are equally deſerving attention.

Among theſe I ſhall firſt mention the vine, which, ſays Du Pratz, is ſo common in Louiſiana, that whatever way you walk from the ſea-coaſt for 500 leagues northwards, you cannot proceed an hundred ſteps without meeting with one; but unleſs the vine-ſhoots ſhould happen to grow in an expoſed place, it cannot be expected that

their

their fruit ſhould ever come to perfect maturity. The trees to which they twine are ſo high, and ſo thick of leaves, and the intervals of underwood are ſo filled with reeds, that the ſun cannot warm the earth or ripen the fruit of this ſhrub. On the edge of the ſavannahs or meadows we meet with a grape, the ſhoots of which reſemble thoſe of the Burgundy grape: they make from this a tolerable good wine, if they take care to expoſe it to the ſun in ſummer, and to the cold in winter. I have made this experiment myſelf, and muſt ſay, that I could never turn it into vinegar. There is another kind of grape which I make no difficulty of claſſing with the grapes of Corinth, commonly called currants. If it were planted and cultivated in an open field, I make not the leaſt doubt but it would equal that grape. Muſcadine grapes, of an amber colour, of a very good kind and very ſweet, have been found upon declivities of a good expoſure, even ſo far north as the latitude of 31 degrees. There is the greateſt probability that they might make excellent wine of theſe, as it cannot be doubted but the grapes might be brought to great perfection in this country, ſince in the moiſt ſoil of New Orleans the cuttings

tings of the grape, which ſome of the inhabitants of that city brought from France, have ſucceeded extremely well, and afforded good wine.

Mulberries are found in vaſt plenty in moſt parts of the country. They have great numbers and a variety of kinds of walnuts and hiccories, and large cheſnut-trees, which however do not grow in plenty within 100 leagues of the ſea. Of the common foreſt timber, the red cedar is the moſt valuable; it is found in great plenty. Next to it ranks the cypreſs: it is reckoned incorruptible; one was found twenty feet deep in the earth, near New Orleans, uncorrupted. Now the lands of Lower Louiſiana have been found to be augmented two leagues every century; this tree therefore muſt have been buried at leaſt twelve centuries. Boats called *pettiaugres* are made of ſingle trunks of this tree, that will carry three or four thouſand weight, and ſometimes more. Of one of theſe trees a carpenter made two, one of which carried ſixteen ton, and the other fourteen. The pines are only found on the ſandy tracts on the ſea-coaſt. The ſaſſafras is here a large and tall tree. The myrtle wax tree is found in plenty, and its wax was always

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one of the principal articles in the exports from New Orleans. The locuſt *(acacia)* is found on all the higher lands, and is a ſtrong ſign of a good ſoil. The mangrove is found in ſome parts of the country. Among their oaks they have the ever-green one and the red; it is well known that the beſt ſhips built in America are thoſe which have their timbers of ever-green oak, and their plank of cedar; and it is aſſerted that the red oak of Louiſiana is as good as the ever-green one. The aſh, elm, beech, lime, hornbeam, aſp willow, alder, &c. are the ſame as in Europe. Sarſaparilla grows naturally in Louiſiana, and it is not inferior in its qualities to that of Mexico. Hops grow naturally in the gullies in the high lands. The canes or reeds grow to vaſt height; one kind comes in moiſt places to eighteen feet, and the thickneſs of the wriſt. The natives make mats, ſieves, ſmall boxes, and other works of it. Thoſe that grow in dry places, are neither ſo high nor ſo thick, but are ſo hard, that, before the arrival of the French, the natives uſed ſplits of theſe canes to cut their victuals with. After a certain number of years the large canes bear a great abundance of grain, which is ſomewhat like oats, but about

about three times as large. The natives carefully gather thoſe grains, and make bread or gruel of them. This flour ſwells as much as that of wheat. When the reeds have yielded the grain they die, and none appear for a long time after in the ſame place, eſpecially if fire has been ſet to the old ones. Hemp grows naturally in this country; the ſtalks are as thick as one's finger, and about ſix feet long: they are quite like ours, both in the wood, the leaf, and the rind. The flax which was ſown in this country roſe three feet high.—The reader cannot well have greater ſatisfaction relative to the high importance of this country, than the preceding recapitulation of part of its natural produce. The productions of agriculture will not be found to ſpeak leſs effectually to the ſame purpoſe.

Maize was not only cultivated by the Indians in ſmall quantities for their ſubſiſtence during a part of the year, but alſo by the French as an article of conſiderable exportation to the ſugar iſlands: it was here found to thrive better on a black and light earth than on a ſtrong one. Such as began plantations of it in the woods, thick ſet with cane, found an advantage in the maize which made amends for the labour

of

of clearing the ground; a labour always more fatiguing than cultivating a ſpot already cleared. The advantage was this; they began with cutting down the canes for a great extent of ground; the trees they peeled two feet high quite round. This operation they performed the beginning of March, as then the ſap is in motion in that country: about fifteen days after the canes being dry, were ſet on fire, and burnt, burning or at leaſt killing the trees with them. The following day they ſowed the maize, in ſquares four feet aſunder; the roots of the canes which are not quite dead ſhoot out freſh canes, which are very tender and brittle, and as no other weeds grow in the field that year, it is eaſy to be weeded of theſe canes, and as much corn again uſed to be made in this manner as in a field already cultivated.

Wheat, rye, barley, oats, peaſe, and beans of many ſorts thrive no where in the world better than on the high lands in this country, in every ſpot where the French planted them, and yielded a produce much greater without manure than can be gained in common lands in Europe with great manuring: the temperature of the climate ſuits wheat extraordinarily, and no ſoil can be

be better adapted to it. But in Lower Louiſiana upon the coaſt, which is the ſame country as Weſt Florida, the French found that it would not thrive at all.

Indigo was commonly cultivated in this country, than which none more favourable, either in climate or ſoil, is any where to be found: the high lands produce it naturally. In the iſlands from the heat of climate they cut it four times; three good cuttings are had in Louiſiana, of as good a quality at leaſt, and producing as much as their four. In the particulars before given, concerning indigo in Carolina, I ſhewed that this plant required a rich, deep, black, dry loam, which is ſcarcely any where to be found in ſuch perfection and plenty as in the country on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi. No where in all North America will this ſtaple be cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs as here: the lands on the Ohio are as rich in many parts, but the climate is not ſo warm, being hardly warm enough for cultivating this plant with great ſucceſs. Indigo is highly profitable both to the planter and the nation; it will therefore be found, whenever this noble country is colonized, that it muſt be one of the chief ſtaples of it, and the crops which

which will be here raiſed will certainly induce the people on the barren unhealthy coaſts of our old colonies to quit them, and ſettle here, where their profit will prove very different, and they will thereby advance the intereſts of Britain as much as of themſelves.

Hemp, I before obſerved, grows wild in Louiſiana; but upon the eaſtern banks of the river, for a long way, there are very few tracts of low, marſhy, ſtrong land, ſuch as hemp delights in, the lands being in general high and dry; that quantities might be made on the deep black mould, I doubt not, and perhaps if it was tried, it would not be found to require ſo much moiſture; but, as upon the Ohio, hemp is alſo found ſpontaneous; and as the country is more various, having ſome tracts of low moiſt land on a ſtrong clay, which would do admirably for this plant, and in which is found great natural crops; for this reaſon hemp might be conſidered as a ſtaple for the Ohio, and the rich dry lands of the Miſſiſſippi applied to thoſe crops which will only thrive in ſuch.

Tobacco is another plant indigenous in this part of America; the French coloniſts cultivated it with ſuch ſucceſs that had they

they received any encouragement from their government they might ſoon have rivalled Virginia and Maryland; but inſtead of this they were taxed heavily for cultivating it, by duties laid on the trade; what they produced was of ſo excellent a quality, as to ſell ſome at five ſhillings a pound. This was raiſed in the country about Fort Roſalie, and to Yaſouz. And there is one advantage in this culture here which ought not to be forgotten: in Louiſiana the French planters, after the tobacco was cut, weeded and cleaned the ground on which it grew, the roots puſh forth freſh ſhoots, which are managed in the ſame manner as the firſt crop. By this means a ſecond crop is made on the ſame ground, and ſometimes a third. Theſe *ſeconds* indeed, as they are called, do not uſually grow ſo high as the firſt plant, but notwithſtanding they make very good tobacco. Whereas in Virginia and Maryland the planters are prohibited by law from cultivating theſe *ſeconds*; the ſummers are there too ſhort to bring them to maturity, but in Louiſiana the ſummers are two or three months longer, by which means two or three crops of tobacco may be made in a year, as eaſily as one in Virginia. And a very

very experienced perſon in the tobacco trade aſſures us, that the freſh lands on the Miſſiſſippi will produce thrice or four times as much per working hand as our old plantations in Virginia and Maryland. This is perfectly conſiſtent with the beſt accounts we have received from thence, which agree in deſcribing the ſoil as very rich and very deep, of a black colour, and light and dry; ſuch a ſoil is of a boundleſs fertility from its depth; where there is only a thin ſtratum, though the richneſs may be great for a time, yet ſucceſſive crops of exhauſting plants will wear it out in no great number of years; but when the ſoil is, like that on the country on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, the ſame for three, four, or five feet deep, the planter has nothing to fear. Every circumſtance that is neceſſary to ſucceſs in tobacco planting is found in this territory. Firſt, the right ſoil is the greateſt plenty. Second, very extenſive tracts of fertile meadow, covered with the moſt luxuriant graſs, for the maintenance of immenſe herds of cattle. Third, a navigation cloſe to the tobacco lands, which admits ſhips of five hundred tons. Fourth, a climate much better for this culture than that of

our tobacco colonies. If all theſe circumſtances are duly conſidered, it will be found, that whenever the tobacco trade declines, or threatens a decline, the wiſe conduct will be to plant it in a country ſo highly favourable to the buſineſs.

Silk may be produced in this country in any quantities that the population will allow of; for the mulberry is found in great plenty all over the high lands. The leaves of the natural mulberry-trees of Louiſiana are what the ſilk-worms are very fond of; I mean the more common mulberries with a large leaf, but tender, and the fruit of the colour of Burgundy wine. The province produces alſo the white mulberry, which has the ſame quality with the red. Du Pratz has a very juſt obſervation on making ſilk in this country. "The culture, ſays he, of indigo, tobacco, cotton, &c. may be carried on without any interruption to the making of ſilk, as any one of theſe is no manner of hindrance to the other. In the firſt place, the work about theſe three plants does not come on till after the worms have ſpun their ſilk: in the ſecond place, the feeding and cleaning the ſilk-worm requires no great degree of ſtrength; and thus the care employed about

about them, interrupts no other ſort of work either as to time or as to the perſons employed therein. It ſuffices to have for this operation a perſon who knows how to feed and clean the worms; young negroes of both ſexes might aſſiſt this perſon, little ſkill ſufficing for this purpoſe; the oldeſt of the young negroes, when taught, might ſhift the worms and lay the leaves; the other young negroes gather and fetch them; and all this labour, which takes not up the whole day, laſts only for about ſix weeks. It appears therefore that the profit made of the ſilk is an additional benefit, ſo much the more profitable as it diverts not the workmen from their ordinary taſks. If it be objected, that buildings are requiſite to make ſilk to advantage; I anſwer, buildings for the purpoſe coſt very little in a country where wood may be had for taking; I add further, that theſe buildings may be made and daubed with mud by any perſons about the family, and beſides may ſerve for hanging tobacco in, two months after the ſilk-worms are gone."

There is another circumſtance in which the high lands of this country are peculiarly adapted to the culture of ſilk, which is the dryneſs of the climate. Upon the

maritime parts of our old colonies, the continual rains are very detrimental to this tender worm, which requires a fine healthy climate, as much as a man of a tender conſtitution: in ſuch the ſilk is always made in larger quantities, and of a far better quality. This is a point which has not been ſufficiently attended to, but whenever we come to plant this country, the great advantage of it will be found in making ſilk.

Cotton is another article which the French cultivated with ſucceſs in Louiſiana, but which like others never came to be a national object for want of more people, and perhaps for want of encouragement, owing to their fear of rivalling their ſugar iſlands, which alſo produce it in large quantities. The cotton they cultivated here is a ſpecies of the white Siam. This Eaſt India and annual cotton has been found to be much better and whiter than what is cultivated in our colonies, which is of the Turkey kind; both of them keep their colour better in waſhing, and are whiter than the perennial cotton that comes from the iſlands, although this laſt is of a longer ſtaple. It is not ſo long nor ſo ſoft as the ſilk-cotton. It is produced, not from a tree

tree as in the Eaſt Indies, but from a plant, and thrives much better in light than in ſtrong and fat land; in the lower lands of Louiſiana it never was ſo fine as on the higher ones. It may be planted on lands newly cleared, and not yet proper for tobacco, much leſs for indigo, which requires a ground well worked like a garden. The ſeeds are planted three feet aſunder, more or leſs, according to the quality of the ſoil; the field is weeded at the proper ſeaſon, in order to clear it of the noxious weeds, and freſh earth laid to the roots of the plant to ſecure it againſt the winds. The cotton requires weeding neither ſo often nor ſo carefully as other plants; and the care of gathering is the employment of young people, incapable of harder labour: when the pods burſt it is gathered, and the moſt laborious part of the work is to ſeparate the cotton from the ſeeds, though it is much leſſened ſince the uſe of mills was introduced. The high, light, and dry ſoil in the territory on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi is all admirably adapted to this production; and in point of preparation it is not only the freſh that may for the firſt year be planted with it; after the luxuriance of the ſoil is abated by

tobacco and indigo, it will do exceedingly well for cotton. This article is not mentioned in this or any other caſe as a proper ſtaple for the ſole employment of any colony, but joined with others of greater value, it is a good addition to the beſt ſettlements in America; for I have often remarked, what ſhould not be forgotten, that no colony ſhould ſtick to any one ſtaple ſo much as to neglect others; the inconveniences of ſuch a conduct are to this day, and have been long felt in our tobacco colonies, where, for want of other ſtaples, ſuch as ſilk and wine, they have gone too much into common huſbandry, which produces nothing wanted in Britain.

The olive tree is common in Louiſiana, and very beautiful. The Provençals who were ſettled here, affirmed that its olives yielded as good an oil as thoſe of their own country. The crop is always very abundant. This is an article which would prove of great advantage to Britain, and of profit to the planters; and no produce would be a ſtaple more proper for a colony. In Carolina, on the coaſt, the froſts ſometimes kill large olive trees, but ſuch extremes of weather are never met with in the high dry territories of this country.

Theſe

Theſe are the principal ſtaples which ſhould be attended to when this country is planted; wine, ſilk, indigo, tobacco, and cotton; they are valuable commodities, come truly within the definition of a colony *ſtaple*; commodities which this nation either conſumes herſelf, or could command a ready market for; and which are of ſuch value as to enable the planters to purchaſe negroes in great numbers, ſo as to enter largely and effectually into their culture. I before ſhewed that the climate, in reſpect of health and pleaſantneſs, poſſeſſed every advantage that could promote the intereſts of every branch of agriculture, an object which is of great importance, and in which the Britiſh colonies upon the coaſt, through all that part which is flat and ſandy, are greatly deficient. In other reſpects, the advantages attending this country are equally valuable.

Among theſe the plenty of wild cattle is not the leaſt, ſince they not only indicate the fertility of the land, but will afford, for many generations, immenſe ſupplies of meat and hides: the principal kinds are deer and buffaloes. All Louiſiana contains prodigious tracts, almoſt boundleſs they might be called, of rich

meadows, covered with a luxuriant growth of very fine graſs, tracts that have ſcarce any interruptions of foreſt, hills, or vallies, extend from five to ten and twenty leagues: ſuch immenſe paſtures of the richeſt land, in a warm and fine climate, where the winters yield a plenty of food as well as the ſummers, could ſcarcely be free from herds of cattle; and accordingly they are found in ſuch prodigious numbers, as to aſtoniſh all travellers that go through the country.

This beaſt is about the ſize of one of our largeſt oxen, but he appears rather bigger on account of his long curled wool, which makes him appear to the eye much larger than he really is. This wool is very fine and very thick. A pretty large bunch riſes on his ſhoulders, in the place where they join to the neck. He is the chief food of the natives, and was the ſame with the French from the beginning of the colony. The quantity of tallow they yield is very great, and their ſkins are an object of no ſmall conſideration. The natives dreſs them with their wool on, as Du Pratz informs us, to ſuch great perfection, as to render them more pliable than our buff.

The

The plenty of deer in all parts of this country is very great, notwithſtanding the numbers that are conſtantly killed; they are much the ſame as the deer of Europe: their ſkins form one of the moſt valuable articles of commerce in all the ſouthern colonies of America, and in this country the plenty is yet greater from the immenſe ſpace of uncultivated land which they have to ſpread over. Nor is it only in theſe two articles, which are native to the country, that a great plenty is found; for all the the animals which have been brought from France and the Engliſh colonies have multiplied exceedingly; horſes, cows, hogs, ſheep, &c. are, I apprehend, cheaper than in any of our colonies; this is not to be wondered at, for in no part of America are there found ſuch plenty of natural meadows. The fruits of this country are in the ſame plenty as Carolina, but of a finer reliſh from the dryneſs of the climate; they have beſides grapes, plums, papaws, peaches, oranges, citrons, figs, apples, &c. The French coloniſts planted the peach ſtones about the end of February, and ſuffer the trees to grow expoſed to all weathers. In the third year they will gather from one tree at leaſt two hundred peaches,

peaches, and double that number for ſix or ſeven years more when the tree dies. As new ones are ſo eaſily produced, the loſs of the old ones is not in the leaſt regretted.

Upon the whole, there is the greateſt reaſon to conclude, that the territory on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, which is at preſent in our poſſeſſion, is one of the moſt valuable countries in all America, and one which will pay admirably for colonizing, whenever the meaſure is thought proper by government to be embraced. It appears on reſpectable authority, not only of able writers, but gentlemen now living who have travelled through it, that the climate is as fine as any in the world, equally favourable to the production of many valuable ſtaples, and to the health and pleaſure of life. That the ſoil is as fertile as any in the world, though high and dry, circumſtances almoſt invaluable. That the country abounds in an immenſe plenty of food for cattle, and is ſpread with vaſt herds of buffaloes and deer. That fruits, of various kinds, are ſuperior in plenty and flavour to thoſe of any other part of the continent. That indigo, tobacco, hemp, flax, vines, ſilk, olives, and other

other valuable ſtaples, may be cultivated here with much greater ſucceſs than in moſt of the other parts of America. To this if we add the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and the rivers which fall into it, we ſhall find the territory to be deficient in no one circumſtance that can contribute to render it a flouriſhing and wealthy colony.

As ſuch, I think there can be no objections rationally made to ſettling it. The eſtabliſhment of a new colony on the Ohio might be thought at firſt ſight to ſuperſede it, but if better conſidered it will not be found ſo. There is one circumſtance in which this territory is much ſuperior to the Ohio, which is that of navigation: the latter has a land carriage acroſs the mountains of forty miles, which will lay a heavy burthen on thoſe commodities that are not very valuable, ſo as to make it neceſſary, perhaps, to ſend them down the Miſſiſſippi, in which caſe the ſame commodities may be ſent to market from this country upon cheaper terms. Nor ſhould we forget to add, that the greater degree of heat on the Miſſiſſippi would prove more favourable to ſeveral of the ſtaples than the climate of the Ohio, which is not ſo hot—

and

and we may in general conclude, that the value of the ſtaples of all colonies that are healthy, will be found to increaſe in proportion to their proximity to the line. This compariſon of the two climates concerns only certain articles, for inſtance, indigo, cotton, and olives, which require for a perfect culture a hotter climate than the Ohio, though indigo may be produced there with profit. But in the caſe of tobacco, hemp, flax, ſilk, wine, &c. the Ohio is fully equal; and in all the productions of common huſbandry, except Indian corn, perhaps ſuperior. But in another caſe there is found a ſtrong propriety, at leaſt, in ſettling the Miſſiſſippi, which is the forming a chain of ſettlements along the banks of that river to the junction with the Ohio colony, in order for ſtrengthening the country on one ſide againſt the Spaniards, and on the other againſt the Indians. The Creeks, Chactaws, Cherokees, and Chicaſaws, would then be entirely ſurrounded, and we ſhould never more have any thing to dread from their reſentments: the ſcheme long ago propoſed by ſeveral gentlemen of America, well verſed in Indian affairs, to ſtop all ſupplies of gunpowder for them in caſe of a war, would

would then be practicable; and without doing them any injury, we ſhould lay the foundation for a perfect ſecurity.

In caſe of ſuch a ſettlement being made, the whole valuable part of that continent, the ſouthern diviſion of it, would then be in the deſirable ſtate of improvement: the population, from being ſo ſpread round a great extent of frontier, would increaſe without giving the leaſt cauſe of jealouſy to Britain, land would not only be plentiful, but plentiful where our people wanted it; whereas at preſent, the population of our colonies, eſpecially the central ones, is confined; they have ſpread over all the ſpace between the ſea and the mountains, the conſequence of which is, that land is become ſcarce, that which is good having been all planted or patented, the people therefore find themſelves too numerous for their agriculture, which is the firſt ſtep to be manufactures, that ſtep which Britain has ſo much reaſon to dread. Nothing therefore can be more political, than to provide a ſuperabundance of colonies to take off all thoſe people that find a want of land in our old ſettlements; and it may not be one or two tracts of country that will anſwer this purpoſe; proviſion ſhould be

be made for the convenience of ſome, the inclinations of others, and every meaſure taken to inform the people of the colonies that were growing too populous, that land was plentiful in other places, and granted on the eaſieſt terms; and if ſuch inducements were not found ſufficient for thinning the country conſiderably, government ſhould by all means be at a part of the expence of tranſporting them. Notice ſhould be given that ſloops ſhould always be ready at Fort Pit, or as much higher on the Ohio as it is navigable; for carrying all families, without expence, to whatever ſettlements they chuſe on the Ohio or the Miſſiſſippi. Such meaſures, or ſimilar ones, would carry off that ſurplus of population in the central and northern colonies, which has been, and will every day be more and more the foundation of their manufactures. They never could eſtabliſh ſuch fabrics, while the plenty of good land in a good climate was ſo great as to afford every man an opportunity of ſettling; for while that was the caſe, none would let themſelves as workmen in a manufacture. Conſiſtent with theſe ideas, we ſee that thoſe colonies where the good land is moſt plentiful in a good climate, the manufactures

are

are trifling, or none to be found, which is the caſe with the tobacco colonies and with the ſouthern ones; but in the northern ſettlements, where theſe circumſtances are different, we there find many fabrics.

Nothing can be more fortunate than the navigation of the Ohio quite to the Apalachean mountains, at the back of the center of all our colonies, ſince by that means people may, with only a ſmall or a moderate journey, arrive at a navigation that will carry them through all that immenſe tract which we may in future colonize, a part of which we are now about to ſettle, and yet more of which I am urging the propriety of likewiſe ſettling. Were it not for this vaſt navigation, to the very ſpot almoſt that one would wiſh to have it, there would be difficulties in the people getting to the countries we wanted them to ſettle in; but as we poſſeſs this great advantage, it would be unpardonable not to make effectual uſe of it, in caſe the eſtabliſhment of new colonies did not of itſelf draw the whole ſurplus of population away from thoſe provinces, the numbers in which want ſo much to be thinned.

Nor is the advantage of drawing off people from the northern colonies confined

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to the prevention of manufactures; it is further of vaſt conſequence to take them from countries that produce nothing valuable in a Britiſh market, and fix them in others abounding with ſtaples of high importance to the commerce and manufactures of the mother-country: this ſingle idea ought to be the corner-ſtone of all the regulations and meaſures adopted by this country in her tranſactions with America; and if it is well purſued in future, will keep off the dangerous rivalſhip, which there is ſo much reaſon to fear, from the manufactures and commerce of the northern colonies.

If the country on the eaſt bank of the Miſſiſſippi was ſettled, and that to the ſouth of the Ohio alſo, there would be ſuch a variety of land, climate, and productions, that every new comer, either from Europe or our own colonies, would have it in his power to chuſe the culture with which he was beſt acquainted, or by which he expected to make the moſt conſiderable profits: they might fix on the climate moſt agreeable to their conſtitutions, and in all other reſpects have ſuch a variety of circumſtances to ſelect from, that the temptation to move would be very great.

great. At the ſame time that they ſuited themſelves, they could not fail, fix where they would, of promoting the intereſt of the mother-country in a very ſenſible degree. By not delaying ſuch a meaſure, there would be a population, and with it a power fixed in the moſt important part of all this continent, upon this immenſe inland navigation, which ſpreads far and near, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, and from the Gulph of Mexico to Hudſon's Bay: the river Miſſiſſippi with its branches ſpread over moſt of it, and the lakes, with the St. Laurence, which are nearly connected with the former, go through the reſt. It is of prodigious future conſequence to be maſters of this navigation, and to have early a power fixed on it, in order to over-awe and keep the Spaniards from deſigns againſt our colonies. We ought not to forget their jealouſy of us in this country, and that they have at preſent a much greater military force there than ever was poſſeſſed by the French. It is a miſtake to imagine that the Spaniards have been inattentive to the *ſecurity* of their American colonies; as backward as they have always been in their improvement, they have been far enough from negligence with relation to a military power, I mean ſince the laſt peace, for upon the con-

cluſion of it, their whole army was diſpatched from Old to New Spain, and the arrangement of the former left entirely to new levies. This was a very bold and deciſive meaſure, and which ſhewed a reſolution to be ſtronger in America than ever was experienced before: it is for this reaſon that we ought to be particularly attentive to the ſtrength of our territories on the Miſſiſſippi, and to give them it effectually muſt be done by peopling them, inſtead of keeping the whole country in as deſolate a condition as it was a century before the French diſcovered it.

General O'Reilly, when he took poſſeſſion of New Orleans, had a force of five thouſand regular troops, with a good train of artillery, and every requiſite for a ſmall but well appointed army. This force they have maintained here; it is much ſuperior to any thing we have in Weſt Florida and upon the Miſſiſſippi; our government therefore ought certainly to be upon their guard in this part of the world, and not only to have a ſufficient military force in the forts and armed ſloops upon the river, but a chain of populous ſettlements to cut off all poſſibility of communication between the Spaniards and the Indians to the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi; a point which may in future prove of very great conſequence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE ILIONOIS.

Country of the Ilionois — Climate — Soil— Productions—Importance of this territory —Obſervations.

BY the country of the Ilionois, I mean all that territory to the north-weſt of the Ohio, extending on both ſides the river Ilionois quite to Lake Michigan and the river St. Joſeph, the ſettlements made by the French on the river Myamis; but in particular the country eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, between the Ohio and Ilionois river, to the diſtance of about an hundred miles from the former. This territory went among the French by the general name of the country of the Ilionois. It claims attention in this work, firſt becauſe we are in poſſeſſion of all the ſettlements made by the French in it, and notwithſtanding its being deficient in all government but that of the commanding officers of our forts, they have increaſed conſiderably by the wandering ſettlers from our

colonies: and ſecondly, becauſe the great richneſs of the ſoil and fertility of the climate will hereafter attract ſo many inhabitants, as to make the eſtabliſhment of ſome civil government highly neceſſary. The public accounts given of this country are not numerous, but what there are, are very conſiſtent with each other, and alſo with the private information I have received from the officers with whom I have converſed, that made a conſiderable reſidence here.

Charlevoix, who paſſed through this country, has given ſome ſlight deſcriptions of different parts, which will afford a pretty good idea of it: he entered it by Lake Erie, the country upon which though not included in it, yet is ſo near as to deſerve our attention here. Of the tract on the very ſouthern point of that lake, he ſpeaks as follows. "I coaſted along a charming country, hid at times by very diſagreeable proſpects, which however are of no great extent. Wherever I went aſhore, I was quite enchanted by the beauty and variety of a landſcape, which was terminated by the nobleſt foreſts in the whole world. Add to this that every part of it ſwarms with water-fowl; I cannot ſay whether

whether the woods afford game in equal profuſion; but I well know that there is a prodigious quantity of buffaloes. Were we always to ſail, as I then did, with a ſerene ſky, in a moſt charming climate, and on water as clear as that of the pureſt fountain; were we ſure of finding every where ſecure and agreeable places to paſs the night in, where we might enjoy the pleaſure of hunting at a ſmall expence, breathe at our eaſe the pureſt air, and enjoy the proſpect of the fineſt countries in the univerſe, we might poſſibly be tempted to travel to the end of our days."

Of the country between Lakes Erie and Huron, he ſays, "It is pretended that this is the fineſt part of all Canada; and really, if we may judge by appearances, nature ſeems to have refuſed it nothing that can contribute to make a country delightful; hills, meadows, fields, lofty foreſts, rivulets, fountains, rivers, and all of them ſo excellent in their kind, and ſo happily blended, as to equal the moſt romantic wiſhes; the lands, however, are not all equally proper for every ſort of grain, but moſt are of a wonderful fertility, and I have known ſome produce good wheat for eighteen years running, without any

manure; and beſides, all of them are proper for ſome particular uſe. The iſlands in the channel, between the two lakes, ſeemed placed on purpoſe for the pleaſure of the proſpect; the river and lake abound in fiſh, the air is pure, and the climate temperate and extremely wholeſome. There grow here citron trees in the open fields, the fruit of which, in ſhape and colour, reſemble thoſe of Portugal, but they are ſmaller and of a diſagreeable flavour. On both ſides of the channel the country is ſaid to preſerve its beauty for ten leagues up; after which you meet with a ſmaller number of fruit trees and fewer meadows; but after travelling five or ſix leagues further, inclining to Lake Erie towards the ſouth-weſt, you diſcover immenſe meadows, extending above a hundred leagues every where, and which feed an immenſe quantity of thoſe buffaloes, whereof I have more than once made mention. Twelve leagues off this channel, before you come to Lake Huron, is a village of Miſſiſaguy Indians, ſeated on a fertile ſoil, at the entry of three magnificent meadows, and in the moſt moſt charming ſituation that can be, the country for the whole twelve leagues continuing always moſt delightful.

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This is a noble channel, as ſtrait as a line, and bordered with lofty foreſts, interſperſed with fine meadows, with many iſlands ſcattered up and down in it, ſome of which are conſiderably large."

Of the territory on the river St. Joſeph, he ſpeaks as follows. " The river St. Joſeph has more than an hundred leagues of courſe, its ſource being at no great diſtance from Lake Erie; it is navigable for fourſcore leagues, and as I was ſailing up towards the fort, I ſaw nothing but excellent lands, covered with trees of a prodigious height. Tobacco grows well here, and by making a proper choice of ſoil, we might raiſe a moſt excellent ſort of it."

Proceeding to the ſouth by the river Huakiki, which falls into the Ilionois, he obſerves, that " at about fifty leagues from the ſource the country becomes beautiful, conſiſting of unbounded meadows, where buffaloes are to be ſeen grazing in herds of two or three hundred. Where the Huakiki joins the Ilionois, the latter becomes a fine river; it does not yield in largeneſs to any of our rivers in France, and I can aſſure you, it is not poſſible to behold a finer and a better country than this which it waters. Before we came to Lake Pimi-

teouy, we croſſed a charming country, and at the end of that lake came to a village of the Ilionois; than which nothing can be more delightful than its ſituation: oppoſite to it is the proſpect of a moſt beautiful foreſt, which was then adorned with all the variety of colours, and behind it is a plain of an immenſe extent, ſkirted with woods. The lake and river ſwarm with fiſh, and the banks of both with game. From the lake to the Miſſiſſippi the river Ilionois, both in breadth and depth, is equal to any of the greateſt rivers of Europe. After ſailing five leagues on the Miſſiſſippi, we arrived at the mouth of the Miſſiouri. Here is the fineſt confluence of two rivers that I believe is to be met with in the whole world, each of them being about half a league in breadth; but the Miſſouri is by far the moſt rapid of the two, and ſeems to enter the Miſſiſſippi like a conqueror, carrying its white waters, unmixed, acroſs its channel quite to the oppoſite ſide; this colour it afterwards communicates to the Miſſiſſippi, which henceforth it never loſes, but hurls with precipitation to the ſea itſelf."

About Fort Chartres the French have ſeveral ſettlements, and live pretty much at

at their eaſe: they ſow wheat, which ſucceeds very well; and they have black cattle and poultry. The banks of the river are extremely high, ſo that though the waters ſometimes riſe five and twenty feet, they ſeldom overflow their channel. All this country is open, conſiſting of vaſt meadows, to the extent of five and twenty leagues, which are interſperſed with ſmall copſes of very valuable wood. White mulberries eſpecially are very common here; but I am ſurpriſed that the inhabitants ſhould be ſuffered to cut them down for the building of their houſes, eſpecially as there is a ſufficient quantity of other trees equally proper for that purpoſe. The whole country, from hence to Kaſcaſquias, and around the latter, is very fertile; it is capable of becoming the grainery of Louiſiana, which it is able to furniſh with corn in abundance, even ſhould it be peopled quite to the ſea. The ſoil is not only extremely proper for wheat, but beſides, refuſes nothing neceſſary or uſeful for human life. The climate is extremely temperate, lying in 38 deg. 39 min. north lat. Cattle and ſheep would multiply here wonderfully, even the wild buffaloes might be tamed, and great advantages drawn from a trade

a trade of their wool and hides, and from their ſupplying the inhabitants with food. The air is very wholeſome. Froſts are ſometimes felt that are very ſevere; the river laſt winter was frozen over in ſuch a manner, that people croſſed it in carriages, notwithſtanding it is at that place half a league broad, and more rapid than the Rhone. This is the more ſurpriſing, as for the moſt part, excepting a few ſlight froſts occaſioned by the north and north-weſt winds, the winter is in this country hardly ſenſible; the leaves fall ſooner in this place than in France, and do not begin to bud till about the end of May, notwithſtanding that it ſnows very ſeldom here, and although, as I have already obſerved, the winters are exceeding temperate. What then can be the reaſon of this backwardneſs of the ſpring? for my part I can ſee no other than the thickneſs of the foreſts, which prevents the earth from being warmed by the ſun ſoon enough to cauſe the ſap to aſcend. At Cape St. Anthony I ſaw the firſt canes."

I have been led to make theſe long extracts from Charlevoix, becauſe his authority has always been juſtly eſteemed, and he gave this account long before the country

try became ſubject to Britain: although he only touches upon certain circumſtances of the ſoil and climate, as a traveller and not a reſident, yet may we gather from it that both are excellent, that the ſoil is fertile in yielding tobacco and the articles of common huſbandry, particularly wheat; that the foreſts are among the fineſt in the world; the meadows of an unbounded extent, and full of buffaloes; that the air is pure and healthy, and the climate in every reſpect temperate and agreeable; and laſtly, that the beauty of many tracts of this country is as great as the fineſt aſſemblage of wood, water, hill, and dale can make it.

Much later accounts confirm theſe particulars. When Charlevoix was there, in 1721, the French had but begun to cultivate it, but ſince that period they have made a great progreſs; ſo that at the peace of 1762 they had a fine and well ſettled colony about Kaſcaſquias and Fort Chartres, and alſo many ſettlements on the river Myamis, principally inhabited by emigrants from Canada: ſome of theſe ſold their effects, and retired upon the concluſion of the peace, but the major part remained under the Britiſh government; nor has the country declined ſince, notwithſtanding

ſtanding the only government eſtabliſhed in it is that of the commanding officers of the garriſoned forts.

Mr. Pownal, in his *Adminiſtration of the Colonies*, gives, from very good authority, a few particulars concerning the country of the Ilionois. "This country, ſays Charlevoix, in 1721 will become the grainery of Louiſiana; and in 1746 we find it actually becoming ſo, for in that year it ſent down to New Orleans fifty ton of flour; in 1747 we find it well furniſhed with proviſions, and having fine crops; and in a letter of Monſ. Vandreuil's, in 1748, we have an account of its produce and exports—flour, corn, bacon, hams both of bears and hogs, corned pork, and wild beef, myrtle-wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, copper, ſome ſmall quantity of buffalo wool, veniſon, poultry, bear's greaſe, oil, ſkins, and ſome coarſe furs; and we find a regular communication ſettled with New Orleans, by convoys, which come down annually the latter end of December, and return at lateſt by the middle of February."

The private accounts I have had of this country confirm the preceding articles of intelligence, and give the greateſt reaſon for

for determining that it ranks among the beſt and moſt agreeable of America; eſpecially in every circumſtance that concerns the plenty and agreeableneſs of living, and all the productions of common huſbandry, in which I believe it yields to no part of the world. As to ſtaples in a Britiſh market, it will be by no means deficient in them, whenever the advantages of the climate are any ways ſeconded in theſe reſpects by the ſkill and induſtry of the planters. Tobacco may undoubtedly be produced here in any quantity, and of a quality equal to any other: the country, moſt of it, in the ſame latitude as Virginia and Maryland, with the advantage of a much more regular climate, and winters leſs ſevere. Charlevoix expreſsly ſays, that in general the winters are exceedingly temperate; whereas in Virginia extreme ſharp froſts are common: but through all our ſouthern and central colonies the maritime parts are expoſed to greater degrees of heat and cold than the internal country. The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi will make the culture of tobacco very profitable. Wine may alſo be a moſt beneficial ſtaple to this country, the climate is perfectly agreeable to it, and high, dry, and hilly tracts common through-

out the whole territory: the navigation will be equally favourable to the product of this country. Silk is another which will undoubtedly be made in conſiderable quantities whenever the territory is peopled, ſince the healthineſs and temperature of the climate cannot in this latitude but agree admirably with the worm, and mulberries are plentifully ſpread over the whole of it. In a word, it is deficient in no article that can tend to render it a valuable colony, and whenever it is ſettled will be found of that importance to this kingdom, of which we have already experienced thoſe to be that poſſeſs ſtaple productions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

JAMAICA.

Climate — Soil — Productions — The culture of Sugar — Expences — Produce — Profit — Obſervations — Other ſtaples — Settlements — Remarkable inſtances of beneficial improvements — Obſervations.

THE amazing importance which has attended the culture of the ſugar cane, is perhaps one of the moſt extraordinary inſtances of the effect of agriculture that the world has produced, and it ſhews clearer than any other circumſtance wherein conſiſts the true and beneficial nature of colonies: the profit which this nation reaps from her iſlands in the Weſt Indies ought above all other things to make her attentive to every particular in the culture of the ſugar cane. As Jamaica is our principal colony for this production, I ſhall be more minute in my account than in the deſcription of other iſlands, as they will call only for the circumſtances wherein they differ from that iſland.

Jamaica

Jamaica lies between 17 and 19 deg. north latitude, from whence it is eaſy to judge that the climate is extremely hot: indeed the ſun paſſes directly over their heads, and would, in the height of ſummer, render the air too ſuffocating to breathe, were it not for the trade wind and land breeze which refreſh and cool the air. Yet with this advantage which Jamaica enjoys in common with the reſt of the iſlands, the climate is in general pernicious to European conſtitutions. The extreme heat is not ſo great an enemy as the dampneſs and moiſture which attend it: and we may in general remark, that this is the circumſtance which in all latitudes, but eſpecially hot ones, decides the healthineſs of a country. A dry and pure air, ſuch as is found on hilly or mountainous ſea-coaſts, free from marſhes or ſwamps, is always healthy, though under the line; but when a meridian ſun unites with a marſhy rotten ſoil, in which the heavy rains ſtagnate, then it is impoſſible for a country to be tolerably healthy. The people of Jamaica lament their thunders and lightnings, their tempeſts and hurricanes—the laſt are indeed very fatal to their profit; but if health was only conſidered, a low marſhy tract of

of land, in parts of which the rains ſtagnated, ſhould be conſidered as a much more fatal circumſtance. The great evil of the climate is its moiſture, which, united with heat, brings that numerous liſt of fatal diſtempers which are common in this iſland; which renders caution in diet and living remarkably neceſſary, and which is worſe than fatal in cauſing that extreme languor of the body and oppreſſion of the ſpirits, which make the inhabitants ſuffer worſe than death through half their exiſtence. In a word, the climate of Jamaica is ſuch an one, as nothing but the hope of wealth could induce an Engliſhman to live in. With an exception, however, of the hilly tracts, which, and the mountains, are by no means unhealthy for a hot climate.

The iſland is entirely out of the reach of froſt and ſnow, nor have they ever any weather that can be denominated cold: they have properly neither winter nor ſummer, for the trees never loſe their leaves; the only diſtinction of ſeaſon is that of the rains, which fall in July, Auguſt, and September, but principally in Auguſt. They have alſo heavy ones in May and October, and ſometimes a ſeaſon (that is a rain) happens in January. Their hurricanes are extremely dreadful; in ſome of them the

wind is ſo furious, and riſes to ſuch a pitch in a few minutes, that every obſtacle flies before it; trees of an immenſe ſize are torn up by the roots, and blown away like chaff—whole groves diſappear in an inſtant —buildings, however ſolidly conſtructed of ſtone, and the walls, many feet thick, purpoſely conſtructed to withſtand theſe terrible blaſts, are deſtroyed in a moment; in a word, the ſurface of the earth is truly bared, every thing is ſwept from it with irreſiſtible violence: it may eaſily be imagined, that, in ſuch a ſituation, the canes and other objects of culture are the firſt to be blown away. Theſe ſtorms of wind are not all of equal violence, nor do they ſpread a large tract of country at once; buildings very ſtrongly built ſometimes eſcape, at others every thing gives way.

Jamaica is about one hundred and forty miles long by ſixty broad, and contains about four millions of acres. But much the greater part is not patented to any owners, and a very ſmall portion of it is cultivated. The face of the country is extremely various. Along the middle of the iſland, from eaſt to weſt, runs a vaſt chain of mountains, called the Blue Mountains: theſe occupy above half the iſland, for they ſpread in various ridges, ſome higher

higher than others, with deep furrowed glens between them; and in ſome places flat vales of amazing fertility are found, quite ſurrounded with rock and precipice. The hills are all either rock or ſtiff tenacious clay; every thing elſe is waſhed down into the vales by torrents, caſcades, and waterfalls, which are numerous, or by the heavy rains in general; thus all the lower lands are found to be a looſe friable mould, prodigiouſly fertile—as the want of roads and navigation prevent their being cultivated, they are generally covered with fine graſs, but ſome are foreſt. Moſt of the hills and even the rocks, though apparently without earth, are covered with large and ſtrait timber trees of various ſorts: ſo that nothing can be ſeen more romantic or noble to behold than the mountainous ſcenes, which are uſually formed of a great intermixture of rocks, mountains, woods, and waterfalls, with gleams of vale of the fineſt verdure. The country from the ſea-coaſt to the hills is various, but generally conſiſts of woods, marſhes, ſwamps, ſavannahs, or meadows, and cultivated plantations; many tracts are ſandy, but there are none but what produce ſome article or other ſpontaneouſly, which adds to the wealth

of the owners, except indeed ſome of the undrained ſwamps, which are totally uſeleſs.

Among the productions of this iſland we may reckon ſugar, cocoa, indigo, pimento, wild cinnamon, coffee, cotton, tobacco, fuſtic, red wood, logwood, guaiacum, china root, ſarſaparilla, caſſia, tamarinds, venilloes, cochineal, mahogany, manchineal, &c. Among theſe articles, what chiefly claims our notice at preſent, is the culture of ſugar.

The ſugar cane is a reed, ſmooth and jointed, of a ſhining, greeniſh, yellow colour. Their ſize varies according to ſoil, culture, &c. but the height is generally from four to eight feet, but in ſome ſoils they do not riſe above two or three feet; in others we ſometimes ſee them nine, ten, or more. In the French iſlands we are told by Labat, that canes have been known four and twenty feet in length, excluſive of the top and lower joint, and each weighed twenty-four pounds. The largeſt canes are three or four inches thick, but generally not above an inch.

They are propagated by cuttings; pieces from fifteen to eighteen inches long are cut from the tops of the canes, a little below

low the upper leaves: the more knots or eyes there are, the better. The ſeaſon of planting is principally Auguſt, being the height of the rainy ſeaſon; but it is a work which is done alſo in September and October, and even quite to January and February, but not later. Before we proceed with the culture, I ſhall deſcribe the ſoils uſually choſen for a plantation.

In Jamaica the beſt ſoil for ſugar is the red brick earth, ſtrong, but not clayey; black mould on clay is excellent; all looſe friable lands, not very ſandy, will do very well, and are of a value proportioned to their moiſture; drained ſwamps, marſhes, and bogs, from which the water is carried clean off, frequently do well. But let me in general remark, that a ſugar planter's choice of ſoil is very ſimilar to that of a good Engliſh farmer; ſo that good land is the ſame in all countries; the mere ſtiff clay is not good with either; but all loams are excellent; bruſhy wet gravels are rejected by both; light ſands in a hot climate are worſe than in England; black mould is every where excellent; and drained bogs and marſhes, wherever found, are generally fertile: thus is there not that myſtery in judging of ſoils in different climates that many would perſuade us. Poorer lands in Ja-

maica, as well as in England, require the aſſiſtance of dunging and other manuring, and the beſt yield crops proportioned to ſuch management. The richeſt ſoils are freſh woodlands, which when cleared from the wood, and much of the rubbiſh burnt upon the land, prove for many years an inexhauſtible fund of fertility and wealth to the planter; but thoſe woodlands in Jamaica, which are near enough to water-carriage, are moſtly taken up and cleared, for if this requiſite is wanting, the richeſt ſoils will not pay for culture.

Reſpecting the preparation of the ground, it is brought into tillage and rendered clear of weeds; the former is effected by hand-hoeing, and is repeated till the weeds are all deſtroyed: the worſt is the *withe*, which like couch graſs in England has ſuch a vegetative property, that the leaſt bit left in the ground grows and multiplies very faſt; it climbs up and ſtrangles the canes. The roots of trees muſt alſo be deſtroyed if they are of a kind that ſends up ſuckers or ſhoots; this is done by burning or ſcorching them: but other roots they are not attentive to deſtroy, for as the tillage is given with hoes, it is not neceſſary to extract ſuch obſtructions as would ſtop

the plough. If the land to be planted is freſh, or in great heart, they do not manure, but if it has been long under canes, or out of order, ample manuring is neceſſary. In raiſing dung, they rank among the beſt farmers in the world, and this I take to be owing to the difficulty of procuring it; in England, where the winters enable good huſbandmen to raiſe almoſt any quantity they pleaſe, it is much neglected; but in Jamaica, where they have no winter, and where the heat of the ſun is in general a great hindrance to the work, they are forced to be indefatigable in the work, or they would never effect it.

The refuſe of the ſugar canes aſſiſts them as litter and food for the cattle; the cane tops and leaves of Guinea corn are given the cattle plentifully in pens, where they waſte enough to make litter; the pen is firſt ſpread thickly with marle or earth, generally the former, and by feeding many horſes, aſſes, mules, cows, oxen, and ſwine in them, by their dung and urine and waſte of food they add a layer upon the marle; and prodigiouſly enrich the whole compoſt. Then more marle is carted in, and the cattle fed upon that in the ſame manner; and ſo in ſucceſſion till it is

wanted for the plantation, when the cattle are moved into other pens, and the compoſt is turned over and mixed well together, after which it will in a little time be ready for carrying out. This management of cattle laſts through the whole year.

I muſt obſerve upon it, that it is a ſyſtem which deſerves univerſal imitation in all countries, how far feeding fat cattle in pens would do in ſummer is not clear, but as to all lean ſtock, ſuch as draught oxen, horſes, cows, young cattle, ſwine, &c. it would beyond all doubt anſwer extremely well: marle, chalk, clay, turf, or earth, ſhould, as in Jamaica, be carted into the farm yards and ſpread in an even layer about them; upon this ſhould be all the foddering which the farmers beſtow upon their cattle; and in ſummer the ſyſtem ſhould be continued, by feeding them with graſs or clover, &c. mown and given freſh in racks; upon this plan their food would go infinitely farther than in the common way, and they would make four times the quantity of dung they do at preſent. Neceſſity obliges the planters in Jamaica to purſue a method, which, if the farmers of Britain would purſue, they would certainly find the ſame great advantages from.

When

When the plantations are upon a clay or a ſtiff ſoil, they mix ſand with the compoſt, by carrying it in and forming a layer in the pens in the ſame manner as marle; and the good effects have been often experienced. Aſhes of all burnt vegetables are uſed with care, and their effects ſaid to be great.

After the field has been ſufficiently prepared it is marked out, and holes made in regular rows to receive the dung, upon which the canes are planted. This work is called *holing:* the methods uſed are not all the ſame, nor the diſtances. Some make the holes four or five feet aſunder, or four by five, and put two or three ſets in a hole; but the moſt common method is to make trenches from four to eight inches deep, according to the weather, in which they lay the canes, and cover them; theſe trenches are ſometimes laid out by lines, and ought always to be. The diſtance between the rows and betwixt the plants in each row may in good ground be about three feet and a half; in poor worn-out grounds two feet are ſufficient.

But let it here be remarked, that this way of regularly diſpoſing the canes is only followed by the beſt planters; there are more that plant promiſcuouſly, but it is a very erroneous

erroneous method, which ought to be exploded. The land planted in either caſe is in ſquares, formed by intervals fifteen feet wide, which croſs the field at right angles, and are of great uſe in ſeveral inſtances; they admit carts to be loaded in harveſt with the canes, without going over the ploughed ground, which is very miſchievous to the crop; and they prevent the ſpreading of fires, made on purpoſe to burn traſh, or accidental ones; they give a free path to the planter to view the ſtate of the canes, and the negroes when employed in hoeing them; nor is the land occupied by ſuch intervals loſt, as peaſe, beans, potatoes, and other plants may be cultivated in them, that come off before the ſugar canes are cut.

When the canes are about eighteen inches high, which will be in a fortnight or three weeks after planting, they are cleared from weeds, and the ſoil about them looſened by hand-hoeing; and this operation is repeated two or three times, as it happens, till the plants are arrived at ſuch a growth and thickneſs as to kill all weeds by their thick ſhade.

The canes are cut when in full maturity, which in dry looſe ſoils is generally at the end

end of fourteen or fifteen months after being planted; but in cold clay ſoils not till ſixteen or ſeventeen months. They are cut with hand-bills, as cloſe to the ground as poſſible, then cleared from their leaves, &c. and cut into ſhorter pieces, from two feet and a half to four feet in length. The chief precaution here is, that the cane be cut off ſmooth, without hacking the root, which in the dry ſeaſon is of great prejudice to it. The top of the cane, to the diſtance of three or four inches below the flag, ſhould be cut off along with the leaves: ſome are accuſtomed to ſave this part, and endeavour to turn the whole of the cane to advantage; but this is a piece of ill-judged frugality: the top of the cane is always green, and contains only a crude, unripe juice, which, mingling with the reſt, will greatly debaſe it.

On cutting the canes they are immediately carried to the mill, uſually a windmill, in which being ground between iron cylinders, the juice is preſſed out, and flows through a tube into a vat; thence it is conducted through a pipe into another vat, and after that to the cauldron in the boiling houſe; it is then boiled, and as faſt as any ſcum ariſes it is taken off; it runs from this

this boiler through four or five more, ſmaller and ſmaller, in all which it is likewiſe boiled till it becomes a thick glutinous conſiſtence: when boiling can be carried on no farther, a fermentation is raiſed by lime water, which is ſubſided by a ſmall piece of butter, after which it is taken into coolers, where it dries and granulates. In this operation of boiling, the fires are kept in night and day, and the boilers filled in ſucceſſion, as faſt as empty, with freſh juice; the fewel is dried cane traſh ſtacked ready for uſe, and faggots cut from copſes planted on purpoſe, or from logwood hedges, which are of a very quick growth.

After the ſugar is dried and grannulated, it is put into pots of a ſugarloaf form, open at the point, through which aperture the dregs of the ſugar falls; theſe dregs are melaſſes, or treacle, when it has ſufficiently purified itſelf, it is called muſcovado ſugar, being then in order to be put into the hogſhead and ſhipped off. Some planters chuſing to refine it yet farther, cover the ſugar in the pots with white tobacco-pipe clay kneaded with water, which, ſinking through the ſugar, carries down more of the melaſſes than will go off without it, leaving the ſugar much whiter than the muſco-

muſcovado: and at the diſcretion of the planter the work is repeated once or twice more, the quality each time increaſing in value, but the quantity diminiſhing. After this operation it is called *clayed* ſugar.

From the melaſſes rum is diſtilled, by means of fermentation in the common method of gaining all other ſpirits; they gain in this iſland from a puncheon to 65 hogſheads of rum to every hogſhead of ſugar, but much of their melaſſes are ſold to New England to be diſtilled there.

In the continuation of the culture it is to be obſerved, that after the canes are cut the land is hoed quite clean, and miſcarriages among the canes replanted: the ſhoots that are ſent forth by the ſtools are called rattoons, which in due time yield a ſecond crop nearly as luxuriant as the firſt, but not always ſo, the management of which is exactly the ſame as of the firſt crop. The duration of the plants, however, depends upon the ſoil; in poor or worn out ones they will have only one rattoon crop, but but in very rich and freſh ſoils they cut ſeveral. Labat ſays, that in ſome of the French iſlands they will continue yielding for fifteen or twenty years; but no ſuch thing happens generally.

Upon

Upon the ſyſtem of cutting a crop but twice the planters divide their cane land into three parts. One is fallow, prepared either with the plough or the hoe for planting; the ſecond is the crop in its firſt year; the third is the crop in its ſecond year. By this means a third is planted new, and two thirds cut in every period of the growth of the crop; that part which this year (of fifteen or ſixteen months) is fallow, next year is the crop of the firſt growth; that part which this year is the crop of the firſt growth will next year be the rattoon crop; and that part which this year is the rattoon crop, will next year be fallow. Cane grounds are in general from ten to twenty-five acres each piece. The whole ſyſtem is transferred continually from old ground to new, according to circumſtances.

The buildings upon a plantation are very conſiderable and expenſive; they conſiſt principally of a manſion-houſe, windmill, boiling-houſe, furnaces, ſtore-houſes, ſheds, &c. the furniture of which, ſuch as cylinders, vats, coppers, pipes, tubes, reſervoirs, coolers, &c. are coſtly.

Before I give any account of the expences and profit of the culture, I ſhall make ſome obſervations on the eſſential faults with which

which their agriculture in this article abounds. Firſt, the preparation of the ground, which is generally fallowed with hoes; though ploughs are uſed by a few planters, yet the number is inconſiderable. In clearing a piece of freſh ground, they deſtroy the wood in the manner practiſed in the colonies, that is, ſaw it off and leave the ſtump to rot in the ground: this effectually precludes the plough. The hoeing culture is more trivial than can eaſily be credited; for in ſtrength and efficacy it is not comparable to the ſame operation given by the farmers in England to ſeveral crops. Three, four, or five hundred negroes have been ſeen hoeing a piece of forty acres; they cut about an inch deep, ſometimes if the ſoil is looſe a little deeper, and at others not half an inch; if the planter attains any depth that approaches that of ploughing, the expence he is at to get it is enormous. Now it ſhould not be forgotten, that the cane roots at a depth proportioned to the looſened mould upon ſoils that have any tenacity, indeed in very friable ſandy loams, or looſe hazle mould, the roots ſtrike much deeper than the hoe has been, or they would not thrive at all; and to remedy theſe evils it is that holing is practiſed, in which

which they dig ſmall holes where the canes are to be ſet, to receive the dung and cane ſet: but ſuch methods in every article of huſbandry throughout the world are bad: the roots of all crops ſhould be encouraged to ſpread over the whole land, inſtead of being confined to ſpots where the dung is put, which is always the conſequence of not dunging the whole land. Then comes the planting, in which the planters exclude every thing but the hand-hoe, by ſetting the canes promiſcuouſly; thoſe that plant in rows, uſe no other tool; the conſequence of which is, that the keeping the ſpaces between the plants looſe, in good order, and free from weeds, is all performed by the negroes with their hand-hoes, which is juſt ſuch management as to uſe no other tool between the rows of a field of cabbages in England, planted wide enough to admit of horſe-hoeing; which in this country would be an expence of ten or twelve ſhillings for very badly performing an operation, which might be very well done for half a crown.

The two errors I have here diſcloſed are very eſſential ones, and in the conduct of them render ſuch prodigious ſtocks of negroes neceſſary, as eat amazingly into the profit

profit of the planter. Hence therefore ariſes the neceſſity of pointing out methods whereby they may eſcape ſuch expences, and at the ſame time execute their work in a much ſuperior manner.

In the preparation of my ground, I would carry the ideas of the improved huſbandry of England into that of ſugar in Jamaica; I would, in clearing my freſh land, remove all obſtacles which might ſtop the plough, ſuch as roots or large ſtones; this expence would be well repaid by my ſucceſſive advantages. I would then plough the fallow of a depth proportioned to that of the ſoil; in rich deep lands I would go a foot, but in ſhallower ſoils eight inches: before the laſt ploughing I would ſpread the dung or compoſt all over the land; and immediately turn it in by the laſt ploughing, leaving the ſurface, when the work was completed, flat on dry ſoils, and ridged on wet ones.

In the next place, my ploughman ſhould draw furrows by the eye, as ſtrait as an arrow, at the diſtance of three, four, or five feet, according to the diſtance of the rows of canes, which ſhould be regulated by the fertility of the ſoil: the richer the land the greater the diſtance. In theſe furrows

I would lay the cane ſets, and cover them by drawing mould over them by negroes with hand-hoes: let us ſuppoſe the rows equally diſtant four feet aſunder. As ſoon as the plants were a foot high, I would run a Berkſhire ſhim, the cutting plate three feet wide, through the intervals; it ſhould cut about two inches deep, in order to cut down the weeds, and looſen the ſurface of the land: at the ſame time the rows ſhould be hand-weeded. But if the ſoil was ſtoney, inſtead of the Berkſhire, the Kentiſh ſhim ſhould be uſed, which has three triangular ſhares inſtead of one flat one in the other.

Theſe operations ſhould be repeated often enough to keep the ſoil looſe: when the plants were come to that point of growth that made earthing proper, I would run a double-winged plough, the mould-board of which extends or contracts at pleaſure, through each interval, the wings ſo extended as juſt to throw a ſurge of mould along the roots of the plants. Such a plough will perform that work better than any hand-hoe; and by thus earthing once or twice, after other operations of horſe-hoeing, the well tilled earth of the intervals, after being well mixed and intimately united

united with the dung, would be thrown to the roots to ſupply them with nouriſhment as their growth demanded it.

After a trench was thus opened in the middle of each interval, I ſhould go in with ſhims that took a narrower cut, in order to keep pulverizing the interval till the growth of the canes ſhut out the horſes. After the crop was cut in the uſual manner, another great advantage would ariſe; by laying them in bundles on the top of every third or fourth ridge, carts conſtructed ſo as the wheels ſhould ſpread eight feet, and go each in a trench with the horſes in that between them, the carts would be admitted to every part of the plantation without doing the leaſt injury to the ſtools or roots of the cane: it is upon this ſyſtem that farmers in England carry cabbages, &c. from off wet lands in winter without poaching. Another benefit ariſing from this mode of culture, would be the following operation. After the plantation was cleared, I ſhould widen the wings of the double plough, and paſſing it through every interval, throw a ridge of mould over the cane ſtools, covering them up, which with ſuch an implement is very eaſily performed, and very completely in the effect: this

practice, performed with hoes at a great expence, has in ſeveral of our iſlands been found excellent; conſequently this compendious way would do it in a manner much ſuperior, and at a twentieth of the expence.

If any conſiderate perſon reflects upon this ſyſtem, in compariſon of the method of hand-work now in uſe, which is certainly the moſt expenſive conduct that is known in any part of the world—he will, I am confident, allow that the ſaving of expence would be prodigious, and the culture at the ſame time performed in a manner far ſuperior. The objections that will be made to it (for what plan was ever thought of, againſt which objections could not be ſtarted?) I can eaſily ſuppoſe may be numerous. Thoſe which I have heard, that carry any appearance of reaſon with them, are the following.

Firſt, that the number of mules, &c. which would be neceſſary, could not be kept without a greater expence than the preſent number of negroes. I muſt be allowed to deny this, as a circumſtance perfectly incredible: let it be remembered, that moſt of the planters are obliged to keep very large herds of cattle merely for the pur-

purpoſe of making dung, why not therefore let a larger proportion of them be draught cattle for the purpoſe of tillage? A well-fed beaſt that works will make as good dung as a beaſt that does not work; but granting that a larger ſtock of cattle would be neceſſary, the quantity of dung raiſed would be proportioned, and that advantage, where dung is ſo valuable, would go far to pay the extra expence. But why not appropriate a larger part of the eſtate to the production of food for cattle? I do not apprehend there is any part of the world in which cattle pays ſo well, and the want of food is rather owing to the negligence of the cultivator than denied by the climate. Cane tops at one ſeaſon afford the moſt luxuriant ſupply in the world —and ſtacks of them are made by way of hay, which yield a plenty through ſome months: the leaves of Indian corn are alſo made the ſame uſe of, and found of high advantage: but the returns made in Jamaica by Scotch graſs, as they commonly call it, the greater panic graſs, is prodigious. The quantity of its produce exceeds that of any other fodder whatſoever, and yields in value a produce to the amount ſometimes of fifty or ſixty pounds an acre.

When ſuch ample products are to be had, with the aſſiſtance in many parts of Jamaica of large ſavannahs or meadows, and barley, peaſe, and beans imported from North America at a very moderate price, it muſt ſurely be evident enough, that any quantity of cattle might be kept for the advantageous purpoſe of ſubſtituting horſe or mule tillage for that of hand-work—and the profit attending the practice would certainly be immenſe.

But let us ſuppoſe the expence attending cattle greater than it really is, are we to be allowed nothing in the ſaving of negroes, that moſt expenſive mode of labour? Two mules or oxen and one man with a ſhim will do more work in a day than twenty good negroes; but who will be ſo hardy as to aſſert, that the former can poſſibly coſt the planter as much as the latter: in the earthing up the plants three mules or oxen, a double mould-board plough, and two men, will do more work than thirty-five negroes. In the preparation of the field a plough, two, three, or four mules, and one or two men will, ſuppoſing the depth of tillage the ſame, perform more work than an hundred negroes; but they will not be able to go the depth at all, and therefore the ſuperiority

ority is the greater: if a leſs depth is ſtirred, the plough, or a wide ſhim of four feet, would do a proportionate quantity of land. Now can any perſons be ſo ſenſeleſs or prejudiced, as to ſuppoſe that the ſaving in negroes would not infinitely more than pay for the increaſe of expence in cattle?

Secondly, it is objected that the nature of the climate is ſuch as will not admit of the tillage and horſe-hoeing I have recommended; that the rains are ſo amazingly impetuous, and the ſucceſſive ſun-ſhine ſo powerful, as to bind many ſoils into a hard cement, which could not be wrought by the tools I have deſcribed: but in anſwer to this, I appeal to the common ſenſe of every underſtanding perſon, whether horſe-work will not prove more effectual than the weak exertion of the negroes hoes? The harder the ſoil is bound, the leſs able are they to make an impreſſion on it: if the land was like a baked hard trodden path, the hoes would be uſeleſs; but no turnpike road in England is too hard to be torn in pieces by horſe-work. But the aſſertion is not true; cane grounds ſo hard as to be difficultly worked by horſe-hoes, would be in ſuch order as none but a ſloven could bear; the crop would be nothing; it is a

plant that requires as looſe friable a ſoil as any other, and always in that condition: ſtiff ſoils muſt be rendered open with much dung and compoſt; and a ſoil that is well manured can never bind in any climate. As to ſuch degrees of baking as really happen, ſmall variations in the horſe-hoeing would anſwer: I would, for inſtance, be provided with a ſcarificator or plough of coulters alone to ſpread two or three feet of ground, and cut it into ſtripes, which would deſtroy all that caking of the ſurface which the objection ſuppoſes, and which would prepare it for the other operations I have propoſed. Another tool proper to be provided with is a ſpiky roller, weighing ſeveral tons, about eight feet long, for working the fallow; and alſo a ſmall globular one to work in the trenches of the intervals between the rows of canes; theſe three inſtruments would effectually anſwer all ſuch objections as this.

Thirdly, it is anſwered, that the diſtances of the rows neceſſary for the admiſſion of the horſe-hoes I have deſcribed would be too great for the production of a full crop of canes;—I am ſenſible that the majority of planters ſet their canes in the promiſcuous method, at nearer diſtances than

than I have ſuppoſed; but let me obſerve, that ſuppoſing ſuch practice judicious and neceſſary, yet is it no objection to my ſyſtem, ſince I could horſe-hoe wherever the negroes could hand-hoe. Engliſh farmers, upon much the ſame principles, aſſert, that four or five buſhels of beans ſhould be ſown broad caſt over an acre, and the men afterwards to hoe amongſt them as well as they can; this aſſertion, in oppoſition to the Kentiſh culture of that vegetable, is like quoting the ideas of the common Jamaica planters in anſwer to my argument. The moment the growth of a vegetable is known, every perſon, the leaſt converſant in the different modes of huſbandry, muſt be able to decide at once whether the horſe-hoeing mode is well calculated for its culture; and when the ſugar-cane is deſcribed, that is a ſtrong reed, an inch diameter, and from four to eight feet high, will they not laugh at promiſcuous planting and hand-hoeing which, comparatively ſpeaking, is like hand-hoeing a grove of oaks. The article of culture known in England which moſt reſembles ſugar, is beans, and all our farmers who cultivate that crop to conſiderable profit agree, that the drill and horſe-

horſe-hoe is the only mode which can be attended with great ſucceſs.

And here I ſhall make a few remarks on the conduct of the Jamaica planters in the management of their negroes, which may very juſtly be ranked among the errors of their huſbandry.

In the account I gave of the culture of tobacco and rice by negroes, I had occaſion to obſerve, that the ſtock of Blacks was there kept up by natural increaſe; and that the planters were all in the method of taſking their ſlaves; that is, they allotted them a portion of work every day, which the overſeers attended to ſee well done, but never exacted a larger portion of labour. The management of Jamaica is very different: no taſk is there ſet, conſequently the men know no end of their labour; they are followed throughout their work by the lower overſeers with whips, exactly in the ſame manner as horſes are in England, or if there is a diffe-ence, it is that the negroes are more hardly uſed. The conſequence of this ſyſtem is ſeen in the decreaſe of the ſtock; ſo that a plantation in Jamaica, which employs one hundred ſlaves, requires an annual ſupply of ſeven to keep up the number. This deſtruction cannot

cannot be owing to climate, becauſe the coaſt of Guinea is very ſimilar, and the heat is never oppreſſive to them; it is owing merely to exceſſive work and bad uſage. Nothing can be clearer to common ſenſe than the evidence of this fact.

The expences, profit and loſs of the ſugar culture in this iſland have never been laid before the public with the leaſt degree of accuracy; I have, by making repeated enquiries among Jamaica planters and agents, gained many particulars, which will enable me to give a very ſatisfactory eſtimate, and ſuch as, I am clear, will yield more information than has by any other perſon been publiſhed.

Calculation of a conſiderable plantation in Jamaica.

	£.	£.
600 acres of land purchaſed at 11l. per acre,		6600
Two windmills,	1000	
Reſervoir, &c.	260	
Boiling-houſe, coppers, &c.	1350	
Curing-houſe,	400	
The ſtove, &c.	180	
The ſtill-houſe, &c.	180	
Sheds,	90	
Stables, cattle-pens, &c.	230	
Manſion and three other houſes,	1600	
		5350
Implements of all ſorts excluſive of fixtures,		500
10 negroes at an average of 120l.		1200
Carried over,		£. 13,650

Brought forward		£. 13,650
167 negroes at 50l.		8,350
100 head of cattle, 15l.		1,500
100 ditto at 10l.		1,000
30 mules at 25l.		750
100 ſwine, 15s.		75
		£. 25,325

One year's expence.

Overſeer, managers, drivers, clerks, agent, farrier, &c.	650	
9 negroes,	450	
Expences on 177 ditto at 3l.	531	
Repairs of buildings,	200	
Wear and tear,	100	
Cattle,	150	
Lumber,	200	
Taxes,	100	
Sundries,	119	
		2,500
	£.	27,825
Intereſt at 5 per cent.		1,391
	£.	29,216

If borrowed in Jamaica, the intereſt will be 8 per cent.

Product.

400 hogſheads of ſugar of various ſizes, but at an average of 15l.	6,000
Rum, 270 hhds.	2,434
£.	8,434

Expence.

Sundries as above,	2,500
Profit,	5,934
which is 20l. 6s. per cent. on 29,216l.	

This

This upon a very moderate average: the intereſt per cent. will vibrate from 15 to 30; and the planter, if he is very ſkilful, will carry this 20 to 25 at leaſt; but he muſt in either caſe reſide on the ſpot. And here it is neceſſary to remark, that leſs intereſt for a capital cannot be ſuppoſed in a climate highly inſalubrious to European conſtitutions, and which is expoſed to the moſt dreadful accidents of earthquakes and hurricanes: ſome allowance, indeed, is made for theſe in the preceding calculations, but ſuch cannot be adequate, and excludes articles of entire deſtruction: that the intereſt is not leſs, we may alſo judge from the planters reſiding in England, leaving their eſtates to the management of agents, &c. and yet making from four to ten per cent. of their capital, according to their conduct and ſagacity, which, all things conſidered, is a great proof that the culture muſt be very profitable. And I ſhould further obſerve, that if more enlightened ideas were introduced into the modes of cultivating the cane, the profit would be far more conſiderable; I have no doubt but 40 per cent. on the capital might be made with as much or more eaſe than 25 at preſent. And the reader ſhould note in this caſe of the ſugar culture in Jamaica, as

well as in all the branches of huſbandry on the continent, that the part of the capital employed in the purchaſe of the eſtate pays as great intereſt as the reſt of it, which is employed in the cultivation; an advantage no where to be met with in Europe. If a perſon engages in huſbandry in England he may make a good profit on his farming, but as to the purchaſe of his eſtate he will not make above $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 per cent. by it. Upon the whole I am inclined to believe, that the agriculture of ſugar might be, of all other branches, the moſt profitable; and ſo it ought, for men who ſacrifice themſelves with ſuch fortunes, in ſuch a climate, ought ſurely to make a larger intereſt of their money than if they were employed in their native, or ſome wholeſome climate *.

Beſides ſugar, this iſland produces ſome other ſtaples which are or might be of very great importance. Among theſe cotton is a conſiderable article, the export amount-

* Since this was written a New Hiſtory of Jamaica has appeared, which makes the intereſt 10 per cent. that is, 6 for intereſt paid, and 4 for the planter; but that this is very inadequate, every perſon, on reflection, muſt allow, for the planter muſt very ſoon be in gaol: if the circumſtance of planters reſiding in England, and making 6 per cent. be conſidered, it will certainly be allowed, that on the ſpot it ought to be 20.

ing

ing to about 2000 bags; coffee, but nothing like what the French make in their iſlands; pimento; mahogany; cocoa was once a very great article, but it has much declined; indigo was once the ſtaple of the iſland, but the attention now given to ſugar has rendered all other articles of but ſmall comparative account.

The following is an account of their exports.

	£.
48,515 hogſheads of ſugar at 15l. -	727,823
Rum and melaſſes, - -	433,591
Cotton 1626 bags at 10l. 15s. -	17,479
Coffee 220 caſks, - -	2,342
Pimento 438,000 lb. - - -	15,632
Mahogany, - - - -	17,858
Sundries, as logwood nicarago, fuſtic, ligum vitæ, cocoa, ginger, canella, or winter's bark, peruvian bark, balſams, indigo, aloes, hides, ſtaves, dry goods, bullion, &c.	32,140
Total, *	1,246,868

This is a prodigious ſum for an iſland to produce, the cultivated part of which does not exceed three or four hundred thouſand acres; but as the whole contains four millions, it ought to be a ſpur to our government to remedy the monſtrous evil of ſuch a proportion of it remaining waſte: much is certainly incapable of culture, but the tracts of fine ſoil which would yield

* *Political Eſſays*, p. 286.

ſugar

ſugar, and the yet greater tracts which might be moſt profitably applied to the culture of other ſtaples, are ſo many nuiſances to the public, which deſerve the moſt ſerious conſideration: the monopolies of waſtes are infinitely detrimental, and ought not only to be guarded againſt in future, but even remedied in paſt.

Settlements might be made moſt advantageouſly upon the lands in this iſland not yet granted away, if not for the culture of ſugar, at leaſt for thoſe of other ſtaples, ſuch as cotton, indigo, cocoa, &c. which require ſmall capitals, and would prove very profitable. A little management in government would bring ſuch culture into more repute, and ſpread it through thoſe waſte tracts which are ſuch a reproach to the nation.

There have of late years been a few very important improvements made in particular ſpots; but theſe, though reflecting great honour on individuals, are not of ſuch extent as to remedy the evil of ſo large a portion of the iſland remaining uncultivated. Among theſe one deſerves particular attention; it is the improvement Mr. K— wrought.

That gentleman purchaſed a ſwamp for a thouſand pounds, which was at the time of

of his purchaſe reckoned a very large price for it: his firſt work was to ſurvey it carefully in order to mark out the drains that would be neceſſary to lay it dry. Having performed this with as much accuracy as poſſible, he cut a main drain, through the center of the ſwamp, into a navigable river, wide enough for canoes to paſs and repaſs; by properly directing this drain, he found ſo much immediate ſervice from it as to give him the greateſt hope of ſucceſs; this was a very heavy and expenſive work to him, for at the time that he firſt planned the deſign of a drain, he had his eye on the convenience of a navigation in the future cultivation of the land.

When this main cut was finiſhed, he began croſs cuts, through the ſwamp on each ſide the main drain and communicating with it; theſe were of a ſomething leſs dimenſion, but yet ſufficient for navigating, and as faſt as they were finiſhed the ſwamp became nearly dry, and to appearance ſound land: but this was rather deceitful, for upon the ſubſidence of the ſurface of the ſwamp he found it neceſſary to ſink all his drains, which was a work of much trouble and expence.

Having completed a conſiderable part of the draining, he erected ſugar works, with

all the neceſſary buildings, upon the moſt convenient ſpot for that part of the ſwamp which was firſt dry, purchaſed negroes, and all things neceſſary, among which, however, cattle made but a ſmall article. In this reſpect he made a wonderful uſe of his navigable croſs cuts; by multiplying them from croſs to croſs he made them fully anſwer all the purpoſes of roads, and intervals between the diviſions of the cane grounds: thus every article of *carriage* in the plantation was by this means transferred from negroes and mules to boats, even to that of the bundles of canes to the mills, &c. This contrivance rendered very few cattle neceſſary: reſpecting the object of raiſing manure, for which ſo many planters are obliged to ſacrifice many other intereſts, this gentleman, from examining the ſoil of the ſwamp accurately, found it of ſo fertile and promiſing an appearance, that none would be neceſſary for many years, as the land looked as if the canes would rather be too luxuriant in their growth than not enough ſo; but as he alſo knew that ſuch a quality is continually on the decreaſe after the land becomes cultivated, he made an ample proviſion for cattle, by bringing into tillage with the plough ſome of the larger diviſions, and ſowing them

them with Scotch graſs (panic), and other plants, ſo that the profitable part of cattle-keeping might at any time be practiſed, without the expence of ſupporting them merely for their work and dung; there is no part of the world in which cattle for proviſions anſwer better than in Jamaica: this ſyſtem therefore was anſwering every beneficial purpoſe that could be wiſhed. It was executed by degrees as the other works went on.

When drained, the ſoil of the ſwamp was found to be a light hazel mould inclining to a peat, about eighteen inches deep, on a bed of ſtiff loam five feet deep, and under that a white clay: nothing could ſhew greater ſigns of inexhauſtible fertility than the experiments made with ſeveral plants on the firſt diviſion that was completely drained.

The firſt eſtabliſhment for the purpoſe of planting was that of 100 negroes, with all the buildings requiſite, and which was began before the firſt work of draining was in all parts finiſhed. Nothing could exceed the crop which was reaped, and contrary to expectation the ſugars proved of a very fine grain. Every working hand made three hogſheads, which was a produce that

is but rarely met with. Every year, for ſix ſucceſſive ones, Mr. K—— increaſed his ſtock of negroes conſiderably, and the produce did not fail him in any one of them; ſo that the immenſe receipts from his plantation repaid him part of the expence of his drainage: when it was finiſhed, three hundred negroes more were thrown to planting, and the ſugars they made were ſuppoſed to exceed in quantity per head thoſe of any other plantation in the iſland.

Upon this great ſucceſs attending the undertaking, many perſons were deſirous of purchaſing parts of the ſwamp in order to convert them in like manner into ſugar plantations; but Mr. K—— was deſirous of having only one trouble with the whole, and offered it to ſale to any perſon or perſons that would bargain for the whole purchaſe. The event of the affair is perhaps the moſt extraordinary inſtance of improvement that was ever known: the whole, that is land, buildings, negroes, &c. were ſold for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS.

This vaſt ſum was to be paid by inſtallments, bearing intereſt 8 per cent. till paid. In the valuation the land was reckoned at 60l. an acre, and the negroes at 60l. each, one with another. The following account

is

is not abſolutely accurate, but the particulars are not far from the truth.

	£.
Produce of the ſale, - - -	100,000
Profit on the planting, after the improvement, during ſeven years, - - -	32,000
Total receipt, £.	132,000
Purchaſe, - - £. 1000	
Drainage, expence in negroes, &c. 27500	
Buildings, - - 13000	
Negroes, - - - 14700	
Implements, - - 2080	
Cattle and ſundries, - - 7500	
	65,780
Clear profit, - - -	66,220

It is very much to the honour of this ſenſible gentleman that he had ſagacity enough to underſtand the advantages which might be made by draining ſuch a ſwamp: his plan, before the execution, was treated as a viſionary ſcheme by all the old planters, who laughed at the project, and foretold the ruin of the undertaker. The work turning out ſo ſucceſsfully will have moſt beneficial conſequences: there are other ſwamps in the iſland equally acceſſible, of the ſame ſoil, and as eaſily to be drained; all which circumſtances are clear from the almoſt immediate riſe in the price of ſuch lands upon the ſucceſs of Mr. K——; and ſome other undertakings of the ſame

kind have been begun, from which there is reaſon to expect a ſimilar ſucceſs.

Improvements of this and other kinds are more wanting in Jamaica than in any of our other iſlands, for here we have the largeſt territory we poſſeſs in the Weſt Indies. Not above a fourth of this iſland being patented, and not a fourth of that fourth under any ſort of culture, ought to inſtigate men to more activity, and a more acute examination of the diſtricts in this iſland, which have been hitherto rejected or neglected. Doubtleſs there are many extenſive tracts among them, which might be applied to ſugar, if planters would, like the gentleman who executed the above improvement, apply to raiſing that commodity in new methods, varied and adapted to circumſtances in the ſoil and ſituation not uſual in the old plantations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

BARBADOES.

Climate — Soil — Productions — Exports — Obſervations on the culture of ſugar in Barbadoes.

THIS little iſland, deſervedly one of the moſt famous in the world, is ſituated in 13 degrees north latitude: it is about twenty-five miles in length, and in breadth fourteen, containing one hundred and forty ſquare miles, and by ſuppoſition 100,000 acres. The climate is in ſome reſpects preferable to that of Jamaica, and in others inferior: the face of the country on the coaſt is higher and more free from low grounds and ſwamps, much of it being quite walled with rocks; this makes the air drier, and conſequently healthier; but the nights are hotter from the want of the land breeze, which in Jamaica is owing to the mountains, and Barbadoes having none cannot poſſeſs this advantage; but upon the whole, the climate

is reckoned ſuperior to that of the other iſland.

The ſoil is generally a light hazel loam, of a dark or reddiſh colour, with exceptions for ſtiffer tracts; it is in every ſpot of the iſland capable of bearing ſome valuable product or other; contrary to Jamaica, every inch being under cultivation. Of their products, ſugar is the grand article; indigo they ſtill cultivate; ginger is a very good article; they have ſome cotton and pimento. Among their other products they reckon oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, pine apples, guavas, plantains, cocoa nuts, Indian figs, prickly pears, melons, &c. In general, the produce of the iſland is as rich as any other in the Weſt Indies.

The great value of it to this country will appear clearly from the progreſs of its trade and export. In 1650, which was only twenty years after its firſt ſettlement, it contained between 30 and 40,000 white inhabitants, and a yet larger number of blacks. Upon the Reſtoration the colony granted 4½ per cent. duty on its exports towards maintaining the forts and fortifications, but which has been ſhamefully miſapplied to other purpoſes.

It

It is very remarkable, that the people of this iſland ſpent forty years in raiſing indigo, ginger, cotton, and tobacco; and then learnt of the Portugueze at Brazil the art of planting the ſugar cane, and this acquiſition in no longer ſpace than ten years totally changed the face of affairs in the iſland: the planters who were before in but low circumſtances, became remarkably wealthy.

In 1676 the iſland was at its meridian; by a calculation that was made with great exactneſs there were then found in it 50,000 white people of all ſorts, and 80,000 negroes: this was a degree of population truly amazing. The author of the *European Settlements in America* juſtly obſerves, that Holland itſelf, or perhaps even the beſt inhabited parts of China, were never peopled to the ſame proportion; and Dr. Campbell remarks, with equal truth, that never any colony of ours, or any other nation, was ſo populous as this: and to make this ſtill clearer to an Engliſh reader, we ſhall obſerve, that Barbadoes is rather leſs than the county of Rutland, the ſmalleſt county in England, and that according to the higheſt computation, the number of people in that county in 1676 did not exceed 20,000.

But

But this may be made ſtill clearer by comparing that whole iſland with this in point of extent; for if England and Wales taken together conſiſt of near forty millions of acres, then if they were as populous as Barbadoes, they ought to contain fifty millions of people—whereas Sir William Petty, who was a very able man in computation, and is thought not to have undervalued this country, but rather the contrary, never reckoned the people higher than eight millions, which ſhews what a vaſt diſproportion there is between the peopling of the two countries. But to proceed farther ſtill; the ſame great man aſſerts, that in Holland and Zealand, which are looked upon to be the beſt peopled countries in Europe, there are a million of ſouls inhabiting about as many acres; and conſequently it appears from hence, that even this country was not ſo well peopled as Barbadoes.

At preſent the number of whites are computed to be near 30,000, but the ſlaves amount to about 100,000. About the ſame time that the population was at its height, ſo alſo was its wealth. In the year 1661 King Charles II. created on the ſame day thirteen baronets in Barbadoes, none of them

them having leſs than one thouſand pounds, and ſome of them ten thouſand pounds a year. At this time their trade actually maintained four hundred ſail of ſhips, one with another of 150 tons; their annual exported produce in ſugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, &c. amounted to upwards of 350,000l. and their circulation caſh at home was 200,000l. Theſe are facts that may be depended upon, that deſerve in every reſpect the greateſt conſideration, and that plainly demonſtrate at once the great value of this iſland, and the prodigious conſequence of our plantations in general *.

Let us exclude all that accrued from Barbadoes to the people of England before the Reſtoration, and eſtimate its produce from 1660 to 1760 at 16,000 hogſheads of ſugar, which make 12,000 ton annually, and omitting entirely the rum or ſpirits, melaſſes, cotton, ginger, aloes, and all the other commodities of the iſland, eſtimating this at 20l. a ton, it will amount to 240,000 l. per ann. or 24,000,000 l. in the courſe of the century either gained or ſaved to this nation, which, conſidering

* *Harris's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 256.

that

that Barbadoes is not bigger than the *Iſle of Wight*, muſt appear a moſt amazing ſum; and yet in proof of the modeſty of this computation it would be eaſy to name a very intelligent author, who before the cloſe of the laſt century affirmed, that no leſs than thirty millions had been gained by our poſſeſſion of Barbadoes at the time he wrote. But though his zeal might poſſibly carry him a little too far then, there is not now the leaſt room to queſtion that the very beſt judges, by which is to be underſtood thoſe who are beſt verſed in theſe kind of things, and who alſo beſt underſtand this trade, would more readily concur in fixing the amount of our profits during the period before aſſigned, at thirty than at twenty-four millions *.

As to the preſent produce of this iſland, the following is the beſt account we have had.

	£.
Sugar, 20,266 hogſheads, at 15l. -	303,990
Rum and melaſſes, - -	203,992
Sundry articles, ſuch as ginger, cotton, indigo, ſweetmeats, aloes, caſſia,	30,000
	£. 537,982

* *Conſiderations on the Sugar Trade*, p. 27.

But

But in this account is included all the rum that can be made from the total of melaſſes: I think that article too high: if 100,000l. is allowed for rum, the total will amount to above 400,000l. a year. The cuſtom-houſe books for 1763 make the Britiſh imports from this iſland above 300,000 l. if to this North America is added, the total, probably, would be as large as above mentioned.

Conſidering that the export of only 400,000l. a year amounts to 4l. annually for every acre in the whole iſland, and as towns, roads, water, rocks, &c. which yield no produce muſt neceſſarily reduce the 100,000 acres conſiderably, it would amount probably to 4l. 10s. upon the cultivated part of the ſoil: and conſidering further that a large portion of the food of the people, both whites and blacks, is raiſed upon the iſland, and alſo that the planters are obliged to keep many cattle, the principal part of whoſe ſubſiſtence grows there, it will be evident that a large part of it is applied to other uſes beſides yielding the exported produce: further conſidering that a third part of all the cane grounds is fallow every year, and it will then appear that the part of the iſland actu-

ally yielding exportable produce is ſmall in compariſon of the whole, I ſhould not imagine that more than 25,000 acres in that ſituation, conſequently the produce per acre is 15l. But whatever produce is taken, moſt certainly agriculture never flouriſhed in any country in the world equally with what it has done here: for many years it has been on the decline, not in the value of its produce, for that is as great as ever, but in the *quantity* of it: in the laſt century they made, it has been aſſerted, more ſugar than at preſent, conſequently the real product of the iſland was once greater even than the above account: it is the riſe in the prices of their commodities that has kept up the total value of their products. But let me ſlightly remark, that I recollect no particular accounts of the exports in the laſt century, which ſhews any decline at preſent even in the quantity.

Relative to the culture of the ſugar-cane in this iſland, there is no material difference between their method and that deſcribed under the laſt article. But the Barbadoes planter labours under greater difficulties and larger expences. The ſoil of the iſland has been ſo long employed in yielding crops,

crops, that it requires more dung than the freſh grounds in Jamaica; it is not worn out, as many ſuperficial writers have aſſerted, for a good ſoil never wears out; bad management in the culture of ſugar, as well as in any other branch of culture, will exhauſt the ſoil, and it will be inferior till good management reſtores it. But as long as the planters conduct themſelves upon rational principles they will find the produce of their iſland great as ever. As to the fertility of freſh lands, it is exhauſted much ſooner than commonly imagined: planters are too apt to take liberties with ſuch land, and pour in a ſucceſſion of crops in haſte to reap the benefit of the goodneſs of the land, without giving it ſufficient reſt, or changing their ſyſtem: when this is the caſe, the fertility of new lands is gone in ten or dozen years, and they will be even inferior to neighbouring tracts that have been in culture a century, but managed upon good principles.

In theſe there is nothing of greater importance than manuring; this they underſtand very well in Barbadoes, where every planter keeps conſiderable ſtocks of cattle merely with a view to the dung they raiſe him. They confine them to pens, in which they

they are fed, that all their dung, urine, and waſte of food may be retained in a bed of marle, which they ſpread in each pen; at certain ſeaſons they mix the heap well together, and find it a maſs of manure admirably calculated for the improvement of their land; ſuperior even to what a ſimilar quantity of dung alone would be. This I attribute to the marle retaining the juices of the dung, and parting with them gradually to the roots of the ſucceſſive crops. Nor has the ſun (which in this hot climate is a material point) near ſuch power to exhale the beneficial parts of the manure when united with an abſorbent earth, as it has upon dung alone.

The great difficulty of the planters is in ſupporting cattle ſufficient for the purpoſe of raiſing the requiſite body of manure: the ſmallneſs of the iſland, which is ſo crammed with people, denies them the extenſive ſavannahs or meadows which they poſſeſs in Jamaica; their crops of Scotch graſs are not near ſo great, nor have they the land to ſpare for it of the right ſort; their dependance therefore is principally on cane-tops and the leaves of Indian corn, both which they feed with green, and alſo make into large ricks in hay. But if they would

would be perſuaded to cultivate lucerne, they would ſurely reap great benefit from it in the ſupport of their cattle, than which they have no object more eſſential. The length of the root would ſecure the plant from the ſun, probably when its beams were moſt violent, and afford, through the heats of ſummer, freſh crops of green food every month regularly for the cattle: this is what they moſt want, for at that ſeaſon all their graſs is burnt up, and, contrary to the practice of colder climates, the ſummer is the ſeaſon for feeding with dry fodder, and the winter that for green. Luterne therefore would prove of the higheſt advantage to them.

Another article in their management, which might be much improved, is the arrangement of their grounds for crops: the cane grounds they keep under canes for ever, with only the aſſiſtance of fallow and dung. But on the contrary, the canes ſhould be planted by turns on all the lands of a plantation: ſometimes a field ſhould be under graſs; ſometimes yams, plantains, garden plants, cotton, indigo, &c. &c. at others fallow; and at others under canes, &c. This change of crop would be of great ſervice, the canes would in the

ſucceſſion have the advantage of what may, to them, be called freſh land; and leſs dung would do than when they are planted always in the ſame ſpot.

Nothing hardly is more profitable to a planter than yams, potatoes, and plantains; and theſe three crops have the ſame effect in meliorating the ſoil and preparing it by their ſhade, for exhauſting crops, as potatoes, clover, peaſe, &c. have in England: nothing therefore can be better management than to make a change of product the foundation for ſugar. Let graſs lands, when of a proper age, be broken up for thoſe roots, &c. and let the roots be ſucceeded by canes; after canes, other ſtaples, corn, &c. then fallow, and upon that canes again, then graſſes, &c. By means of ſuch a ſyſtem the food for cattle would be much increaſed, all the lands of an eſtate kept in good order, the graſſes ſuperior to the common ones, and the canes from ſuch a change would yield more plentifully.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

LEEWARD ISLANDS.

Antigua—St. Chriſtopher's—Nevis—Montſerrat—Barbuda—Anguilla—Climate—Soil—Products—Exports—Agriculture—Obſervations.

ANTIGUA, or Antego, as it is ſometimes written, lies in 16 degrees 11 minutes north latitude. It is circular in its form, being about twenty miles in diameter and ſixty in circumference, containing about 70,000 acres of land. The climate is inferior to that of Barbadoes, being hotter, and is reckoned more ſubject to hurricanes. Only a part of it is yet cleared, being in many places covered with its original woods; a circumſtance to the benefit of the preſent planters in many reſpects. The face of the country in one reſpect is very ſingular; there is neither a brook, rivulet, or ſpring in the whole iſland, which obliges the inhabitants to depend on artificial ponds, ciſterns, and reſervoirs of water for all their uſes. Threaten-

ing as this was originally, experience has removed the difficulties which flowed from it, and they have been able to ſupply themſelves very regularly with this neceſſary of life.

The ſoil of the iſland is generally ſandy, but not therefore infertile; on the contrary, there are nowhere more flouriſhing ſugar plantations to be met with than in this iſland; for there is a loamy mixture in the ſand which keeps it from burning; and the reddiſh earths, though ſandy, are found excellent cane lands. The produce of the iſland has been thus ſtated:

	£.
15,500 hhds. ſugar at 15l. -	232,500
Rum, - - -	63,933
Sundry articles, - -	10,000
£.	306,433

Theſe ſundry articles are ginger, a little indigo and tobacco, fruits and other things, common in all the iſlands; but the quantities are but ſmall, and I ſhould rather think 10,000l. too great an allowance for them. We have no iſland in the Weſt Indies, Jamaica and the ceded ones excepted, that is capable of ſuch improvement as Antigua: indeed the induſtry of its owners

owners has carried their agriculture to a much greater height than it was ever expected they would attain; for the time was when Antigua ſugars could find no market in Britain, but were ſold at low prices to Hamburgh and the North. A very great change has been made ſince, for at preſent we do not often ſee finer muſcovado ſugar than comes from this iſland. The improvements to be made are principally thoſe of bringing into culture the lands yet waſte or underwood; moſt of which, it is not doubted, but will produce good ſugar, perhaps from freſhneſs ſuperior to the old plantations; if this meaſure was well effected, we ſhould annually receive from Antigua 20,000 hogſheads of ſugar, and a much greater quantity of rum would be made than is at preſent, proportionably to the quantity of ſugar.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S is ſituated in 17 deg. 25 min. north latitude; it is about ſeventy-five miles in circuit, yet are there not in it above 24,000 acres of land that can ever be brought to yield ſugar, for part of it is covered with very high mountains. The ſoil is remarkable for producing the fineſt ſugars in the Weſt Indies; it is a light, ha-

zel mould on brick earth, of a ſurpriſing fertility, which ſoil is juſtly ſuppoſed to be of all others the beſt for producing ſugar. The climate is as agreeable and temperate as any other iſland in that hot latitude. The products are,

	£.
10,000 hhds. of ſugar at 15l. a hhd.	150,000
Rum, - - -	41,250
Sundries, - -	7,000
Total, £.	198,250

I have had an account of a ſmall plantation in this iſland given me, which it is proper to introduce here. It is as follows. One hundred and ten acres of land, only part of which is fit for ſugar, with a ſmall manſion, one mill, and a proportioned ſett of buildings, coppers, &c. were purchaſed about five years ago for the ſum of

	£.
	3200
Paid for the implements, &c. at the ſame time,	113
For 47 ſeaſoned negroes at 62l. a head, -	2914
For cattle, &c. - - -	640
£.	6867

The gentleman who made the purchaſe left i to the management of an agent, who alſo had the care of ſome other plantations. He

He has generally ſhipped him 60 hogſheads of ſugar a year, and 26 hogſheads of rum.

	l.	s.	d.
60 hdds. ſugar at 15l.	900	0	0
26 rum at 9l.	234	0	0
Total receipt,	1134	0	0

Deduct.

Intereſt of 6867l. at 5 per cent.	343	0	0
Agent's bill of charges,	655	10	0
	998	10	0
Neat proceeds,	135	10	0

Hence it appears that the planter in Enggland gains only 2 per cent. for his money more than he may be ſuppoſed to pay for it, or 7 per cent. which for a ſecurity any ways hazardous, and that of every plantation is much ſo, muſt be reckoned miſerable intereſt for his money. This, however, is not owing to the fault of ſugar, but of agency: plantations that are left to the conduct of agents and overſeers, generally turn out ſo. There is reaſon to believe from this inſtance, as well as many others, that greater extortioners are hardly to be met with than Weſt India agents, attornies, and overſeers, who generally take ſuch advantage of the diſtant reſidence of their employers as to make thoſe eſtates carry the

worſt aſpect, which ought in fact to be highly valued. But it is farther curious to ſee the profit they allow their maſters, which is juſt calculated to prevent their ſelling their eſtates, when themſelves ſhall borrow money in the iſlands at 8 and even 9 per cent. to throw into a buſineſs, from which they remit the owners no more than 7! The truth is, planting ſugar upon the fine ſoil of St. Chriſtopher's will, with proper management, pay from 25 to 35 per cent. for the money employed; but then reſidence is neceſſary; for as to living in London by agriculture in the Weſt Indies, it is an impracticable ſcheme to unite ſuch contraries with profit.

St. Chriſtopher's was many years ago in a very thriving condition; as may be gathered from the ſale of the French lands in the iſland, after the ceſſion of their part of it at the peace of Utrecht, produced ſo large a ſum, that the princeſs of Orange's marriage portion of eighty thouſand pounds was paid out of it.

NEVIS is ſituated ſo near St. Chriſtopher's as to be ſeparated from it only by a narrow channel; it is about ſix miles acroſs, and near twenty in circumference; for

for want of the high lands of St. Kitt's, the climate is not ſo good, nor is the ſoil reckoned quite equal to it; yet is this ſmall iſland inhabited by 5000 whites and 12,000 blacks; a great number for ſo little a ſpot, and ſhews how completely cultivated moſt of it muſt be. Its produce is,

	£.
6000 hogſheads of ſugar at 15l.	90,000
2000 hogſheads rum at 9l. -	18,000
Sundries, - -	3,000
Total, £.	111,000

The iſland of MONTSERRAT lies in 17° north lat.; it is about nine miles long, and nearly of the ſame breadth. There is no part of the Weſt Indies that is more healthy or agreeable than this little iſland. There are ſome high mountains in it which cool and refreſh the air by a land-breeze; and theſe being at the ſame time well covered with tall cedar and other wood, the ſhade afforded is delicious, as well as the proſpect it yields lovely. The vallies are extremely fertile, yielding all the Weſt Indian productions in perfection; and they are at the ſame time well watered. The number of white inhabitants in the iſland is about 4500,

4500, and the ſlaves 12,000. The product is about 3500 hogſheads of ſugar; but it is on the improving hand both in population and product.

	£.
3500 hogſheads at 15l. -	52,500
1110 hogſheads rum at 9l. -	9,900
Sundries, - -	1,500
Total, £.	63,900

BARBUDA lies in 17 deg. 30 min. north latitude; it is about fifteen miles long. The climate is not equal to that of Montſerrat, from the lowneſs of the lands. The ſoil is very fertile, yet the inhabitants have not gone upon ſugar; this has not been from any defect in the ſoil, climate, or ſituation, but has been owing to that degree of cuſtom and habit which are ſo apt to govern mankind. Long after our firſt ſettling this iſland the native Caribbees remained in it, and more than once burnt and plundered the new ſettlements; this deterred every body from erecting and eſtabliſhing ſuch expenſive and hazardous works as thoſe for ſugar; but after the natives were carried off the iſland, this motive ceaſed, and the conduct ſhould have ceaſed like-

likewiſe; but the people being got into the courſe of common huſbandry, they knew not how to quit it: the beſt part of the iſland was in hands who, from their eaſe and comfort of their life, would not part with their farms, which excluded new comers from introducing ſugar; and thus has the iſland continued to the preſent time applied almoſt entirely to raiſing corn and proviſions, principally the breeding of cattle. The neighbourhood of the ſugar iſlands, with whom alone they have any connection, affords them a certain and good market for every thing they have to ſell. The number of people in the iſland is about 1500, among whom are very few negroes. The property of the iſland is in the Codrington family, the head of which puts in a governor at Barbuda, having the ſame prerogatives the other lords proprietors in their ſeveral juriſdictions in America. Their anceſtor, colonel Chriſtopher Codrington, governor of Barbadoes, who dying in 1710, gave two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of this iſland, valued in the whole at 2000l. per ann. to the ſociety for the propagation of the Goſpel, for the inſtruction of the negroes in Barbadoes, and the reſt of the Carribbee iſlands

iſlands in the Chriſtian religion, and for erecting and endowing a college in Barbadoes. This great man was a native of Barbadoes, and, as has been well obſerved, for a great number of amiable and uſeful qualities both in public and private life, for his courage and his zeal for the good of his country, his humanity, his knowledge, and love of literature, was far the richeſt production and moſt ſhining ornament Barbadoes ever had.

I before obſerved, that the people of Barbuda addicted themſelves to breeding and feeding cattle, and raiſing corn. Their meadows are ſome of them very fine ones, abounding plentifully with thoſe graſſes which in the Weſt Indies are found moſt profitable: their herds are not large, from the diviſion of property, but very numerous: having many cows and young cattle, horſes and aſſes, for breeding mules, ſome ſheep, and particularly ſwine; the products of America are peculiarly adapted for rearing and feeding hogs; moſt of the trees yield plenty of maſt; the leaves of many of their ſucculent vegetables do well for them, and the products of roots much exceed any thing in Europe. An acre of potatoes and yams in Barbuda will yield as much

much as three or four acres of potatoes in England. Their method of planting them in this iſland is thus: they plough the land three times, and then carrying on ſuch manure as they have, mark the field by line into ſtripes of five feet broad; on each ſide the line, at the diſtance of eight inches from it, they lay a row of potatoe ſetts, and as they proceed cover them with earth, taken with ſhovels from the ſpaces between the lines. Planters leſs attentive will do the ſame work without lines, but then their land is far from having any neat appearance. As the crop grows they keep earthing it up in the ſame manner, quite through the ſummer; and when they take up their roots, they do it with ſpades or forks: as to the produce, I have been aſſured they ſometimes get from one acre of land up to fifty-three or fifty-four tons, and that from thirty-five to forty are common crops. It is eaſy to conceive what a ſource of profit ſuch products muſt be, where potatoes bear a conſtant price, as they do all over the Weſt Indies; and to what advantage the people of this iſland may breed ſwine upon the very offal of ſuch crops.

The

The way of life among the farmers of Barbuda reſembles that of the little freeholders in New England; theſe alſo having the property of their farms, ſeldom renting them from others. Each man has his comfortable dwelling, and his well incloſed fields around it, a fine grove of trees for ſhelter, his orchard and garden filled with delicious fruits, his meadows for his herds, ſome lands for Indian, called here Guinea Corn, and others for roots, &c. Conſidering the vaſt plenty which huſbandry in ſuch a climate yields of almoſt every thing, it may truly be ſaid theſe little farmers lead a life very much ſuperior to that of their little brethren in Europe.

ANGUILLA is ſituated in 18 deg. 12 min. north latitude; it is thirty miles long by ten broad, and is in every reſpect too fine an iſland to be left in the condition we ſee it. There are not above 800 people in it, who are to be divided into two claſſes; one a ſet of induſtrious farmers (like thoſe of Barbuda), among whom there was a few years ago one or two ſugar works, and the other a ſet of lazy people who live like Indians, purſuing no other occupation than that of tending a few herds, and living on them

them and the ſpontaneous fruits of the iſland. It is very remarkable, and indeed is a circumſtance of curioſity, that there is no government in this iſland, every head of a family being truly a ſovereign, and yet the ſettled part of the inhabitants live in peace and ſecurity, notwithſtanding the wandering claſs, who know neither law nor goſpel. This ſeems a great contradiction; but ſo it is.

The farmers in this iſland principally follow the planting Indian corn, in which they have good ſucceſs, and ſell conſiderable quantities of it to the ſugar iſlands: their crops are reckoned very good: they alſo plant ſome tobacco, which, after neglecting for many years, they have lately taken up again, but the quantity is not conſiderable. Great improvements might be made, if a deputy governor was fixed here with a regular civil government; which it has been apprehended would draw people of property to make purchaſes in the iſland, with a view to plant ſugar; for there are large tracts of land in it of a fine ſandy loam, of a reddiſh colour, which reſembles the brick earth of Jamaica, and which in its fertility in the

the production of ſuch crops as the people plant, ſhews how excellently it would do for ſugar. The ſcarcity and dearneſs of land in our iſlands make it the more ſurpriſing that this has never been done.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

CEDED ISLANDS.

Dominica—St. Vincent—Granada—Tobago—Importance of theſe iſlands—Their produce—Improvements—Obſervations.

BY the peace of Paris we procured the ceſſion, or rather the confirmation, of our right to theſe iſlands; the degree of merit that treaty poſſeſſes on this account does not turn on the value of theſe acquiſitions, but on our degree of right to them before; and as that enquiry is not connected with the ſubject of this work, I ſhall diſmiſs the idea of it; but proceed to deſcribe them, as well as the imperfect accounts we have had will allow, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch private information as I have been able to gain, ſome of which has been valuable.

DOMINICA lies in 15° 30′ north lat. between Martinico and Guadalupe; it is twenty-eight miles long by thirteen broad, and in circumference about ninety: it is ſuppoſed to be about twice as large as Barbadoes. The air, except in ſome places

that are marſhy and overgrown with wood, is generally reputed wholeſome. There is no doubt but when the iſland is cleared it will, like the reſt, become ſtill more healthy, or at leaſt more agreeable to European conſtitutions. The face of the country is rough and mountainous, more eſpecially towards the ſea ſide, but within land, there are many rich and fine vallies, and ſome large and fair plains. The declivities of the hills are commonly gentle, ſo as to facilitate their cultivation, and the ſoil almoſt every where a deep black mould, and thence highly commended for its fertility by the Spaniſh, Engliſh, and French. It is excellently well watered by at leaſt thirty rivers, ſome, and particularly one of them is very large and navigable for ſeveral miles, and the reſt very commodious for all the purpoſes of planting. Hogs, both wild and tame, are here in great abundance, as well as all ſorts of fowls, and ground proviſions, ſuch as bananas, potatoes, manioc; none of the iſlands produce better. Their fruits alſo are excellent, and the ſettlements, which however were not numerous, which the French made upon the iſland, flouriſhed very much, and produced ſugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and moſt

moſt of the articles common in the Weſt Indies *.

Since it has come into our poſſeſſion, a conſiderable progreſs has been made in cultivating it: many tracts of lands have been purchaſed, and ſugar-works erected on them. Inſomuch that in 1763, only a year after the peace, the export from the iſland to Great Britain amounted to 46,211l. 17s. 9d. a very conſiderable ſum for ſo ſhort a time after the poſſeſſion. Since that time the products have increaſed conſiderably, ſo that at preſent it is one of the moſt beneficial iſlands we have; inſomuch that laſt year its exports amounted to above two hundred thouſand pounds.

ST. VINCENT lies in the ſame atitude as Barbadoes, at the diſtance of only thirty leagues. It is from north to ſouth twenty miles long, and in breadth about twelve; the circumference being about ſixty miles. It is ſomething larger than Antigua. The warmth of the climate is ſo tempered with the ſea-breezes, that it is looked upon as very healthy and agreeable, and on the eminences, which are numerous, the air is rather cool. The ſoil is wonderfully fertile,

* *Conſiderations on the Nature of the Sugar Trade.*

though the country is hilly, and in ſome places mountainous. But amongſt the former, there are ſome pleaſant vallies, and at the bottom of the latter, ſome ſpacious and luxuriant plains. No iſland of the ſame extent is better watered with rivers and ſtreams, yet are there no marſhes nor ſtagnant waters. There are here great quantities of fine timber, and excellent fruit trees, ſome peculiar to this iſland. It abounds with wild ſugar-canes, corn, rice, and all ſorts of ground proviſions. In the ſouth part of the iſland, where the French have raiſed ſome ſpacious and flouriſhing ſettlements, they have coffee, indigo, cocoa, anatto, and ſome very fine tobacco. They have likewiſe abundance of cattle and poultry, and ſend from thence *lignum vitæ* and other kinds of timber to Martinico, where they were employed in building houſes and in their fortifications. We may collect, that if this country was thoroughly and regularly cultivated, it would, in reſpect of its produce, be very little, if at all inferior to any of the iſlands that we already poſſeſs.

But there is one circumſtance very capitally in disfavour of this otherwiſe excellent iſland, which muſt not be overlooked;

it

it is the number of native Indians and free negroes that are in poſſeſſion of it. In the year 1735 it appeared, by an authentic report that was then made to the government of Barbadoes, that according to the beſt information, which could be at that juncture obtained, there were about ſix hundred French, four thouſand Indians, and ſix thouſand negroes in St. Vincent's: it is, however, ſaid, that the numbers have ſince been much decreaſed, owing to a cruel war breaking out between the Indians and negroes, which laſted for many years *.

Several reaſons have been brought to ſhew, that ſo far from eſteeming theſe prior inhabitants a diſadvantage, we ought to reckon them a valuable acquiſition. But ſuch arguments are far enough from being founded in fact or experience. The author of the *Conſiderations* ſays as much on this head as can be ſaid; but in ſpite of all that can be advanced, practical men know well enough, that till an iſland is clear of Indians and free negroes, no ſugar can be planted to advantage. The inſtance of the Jamaica negroes proves this, rather than contradicts it, as may be ſeen by any perſon, who reflects on the immenſe loſſes,

* *Conſiderations, &c.*

expences, and trouble it coſt that iſland not to extirpate, but make a peace with a handful of men; and the example of the French proves the ſame thing, for though no iſland can be more favourable in ſoil and climate to ſugar, than St. Vincent's, yet did they not, though at peace with both Indians and negroes, venture upon that culture; confining themſelves to proviſions and other articles that required little expence. But if this reaſoning ſhould not be ſatisfactory, what are we to think of the tranſactions now going on in this iſland, which in the violation of the natural rights of mankind are of ſuch a hue, as to have brought on the enquiry now before parliament*? It ſhews plainly enough, that the iſland was of no worth while poſſeſſed even in part by the natives, and that in order to render it valuable, means had been taken which it is to be feared will make but a bad appearance in the face of day.

The iſland of GRANADA lies in 11 deg. 30 min. north latitude, the fartheſt to the ſouth of any of the Antilles. It is upwards of thirty miles long, and about half as many broad, being ſeventy-five in circumference. It is twice as large as Barbadoes, and con-

* This was written at the time of the enquiry into the affair of St. Vincent's.

tains

tains one third as much land fit for culture as is to be found in Martinico. The climate, as may be ſuppoſed from the latitude, is very hot, yet is it refreſhed by the ſea-breeze; it is well known to be as wholeſome as any other iſland in theſe parts; notwithſtanding the fever which has gone under the name of this iſland, but which is owing to the thickneſs of the woods, and of courſe declines every day. The ſeaſons, as they are ſtyled in the Weſt Indies, are remarkably regular; the blaſt is not hitherto known; the inhabitants are not liable to many diſeaſes that are epidemic in Martinico and Guadaloupe; and, which is the happieſt circumſtance of all, it lies out of the tract of the hurricanes, which, with reſpect to the ſafety of the ſettlements on ſhore, and the ſecurity of navigation, is almoſt an ineſtimable benefit.

There are in Grenada ſome very high mountains, but the number is ſmall, and the eminences ſcattered through it are in general rather hills, gentle in their aſcent, of no great height, fertile, and very capable of cultivation. But excluſive of theſe, there are on both ſides the iſland large tracts of level ground, very fit for improvement,

the ſoil being almoſt every where deep, rich, mellow, and fertile in the higheſt degree, ſo as to be equal in all reſpects, if not ſuperior, to that of any of the iſlands in the Weſt Indies, if the concurrent teſtimonies both of French and Britiſh planters may be relied upon. The former indeed have conſtantly, in their applications to the French miniſtry, inſiſted, that this might be very eaſily made one of the moſt valuable, though hitherto it has remained the weakeſt and the worſt ſettled of all their colonies. It is perfectly well watered by many ſtreams of different ſizes; there are alſo ſmaller brooks running from moſt of the hills. The great produce of the country before our cultivation in it, and indeed partly ſince, is a prodigious variety of all the different ſorts of timber that are to be met with in any of the Weſt India iſlands, and all theſe excellent in their reſpective kinds; ſo that whenever it comes to be tolerably cleared, vaſt profits will ariſe from the timber that may be cut down, and for which markets will not be wanting. Cattle, fowls, and proviſions, are in the utmoſt plenty. But the diſtinguiſhing excellency of Grenada does not lie ſimply in its great fertility, or in its fitneſs for a vaſt variety of

valuable commodities, but in the peculiar quality of its ſoil, which gives a ſurpriſing and inconteſtible perfection to all its ſeveral productions. The ſugar of Grenada is of a fine grain, and of courſe more valuable than that either of Martinico or Guadaloupe. The indigo is the fineſt in all the Weſt Indies. While tobacco remained the ſtaple commodity, as once it was of theſe iſlands, one pound of Granada tobacco was worth two or three that grew in any of the reſt. The cocoa and cotton have an equal degree of pre-eminence. For ſome years before it came into our hands, the French planters in this iſland ſent home twelve thouſand hogſheads of ſugar annually, beſides coffee, cocoa, and a large quantity of excellent cotton. Yet it is generally allowed, that never one half of the country was properly ſettled that might have been obtained, if the inhabitants had been better planters, and had been alſo better ſupplied with ſlaves. An Engliſh gentleman, who has had great opportunities of knowing, thinks as much ſugar is raiſed here as in Barbadoes, which is not at all impoſſible, though it did not find a regular paſſage to France. The Grenadines run from the ſouthern extremity of the iſle of Grenada;

nada; they are twenty-three ſmall iſlands, capable of cultivation, the ſoil being remarkably rich, the climate pleaſant, and all the neceſſaries of life, as faſt as they are ſettled, eaſily obtained. According to the ſentiments of the beſt judges, large quantities of indigo, coffee, and cotton may be raiſed upon them, nor are they at all unfit for ſugar. Beſides theſe, there are five larger iſlands, generally comprehended under the title of the Grenadines, *Carioua-cou*, *Union*, *Cannouan*, *Moſkito* iſland, and *Bequia*, called by the French Little Martinico. The firſt is of a circular figure, ſix or ſeven leagues in compaſs; it has been repreſented, by thoſe who have viſited it, as one of the fineſt and moſt fruitful ſpots in America; the ſoil remarkably fertile, and from its being pervaded by the ſea-breeze, the climate equally wholeſome and pleaſant. It is covered with valuable timber, interſperſed with rich fruit trees, and when ſettled and cultivated is capable of all kinds of improvement; and it has alſo the advantage of as deep, capacious, and commodious an harbour as any in the Weſt Indies. *Union* is three leagues long. *Cannouan* is three leagues long, and one and an half broad. *Moſkito* is three long and one broad.

broad. All of them very pleaſant and fertile iſlands. *Bequia* is the largeſt, being thirty-ſix miles in circumference, conſequently larger than Montſerrat: the ſoil is equal, if not ſuperior to any of the reſt, but it has little freſh water, and abounds with venomous reptiles *.

As a ſtrong proof that theſe repreſentations were well founded, I ſhall remark, that Grenada and its dependencies ſent home in 1763, to the Britiſh market, only ſugar and other commodities, to the amount of 206,889l. which tallies extremely well with the above mentioned product of 12,000 hogſheads of ſugar. St. Kitt's produces 10,000, and its total export 198,250 l. conſequently 12,000 muſt at leaſt be equal to 206,889 l. Since that time our people have made a wonderful progreſs in planting this iſland: many very capital plantations have been eſtabliſhed by gentlemen in England of the largeſt property, and the ſucceſs which has attended, and is daily attending, ſuch as reſide on their eſtates in this iſland, and at the ſame time underſtand the buſineſs of planting, ſhews clearly that in a few years this will

* *Conſiderations, &c.*

be

be one of the moſt valuable ſettlements we have in the Weſt Indies. I have been favoured with an account of one plantation, which I ſhall lay before the reader, as in ſeveral points it is very ſatisfactory.

	£.	£.
Purchaſe of 350 acres of land for canes (200 cleared) and 95 of woodland in the hills for raiſing proviſions, &c.	2,560	
Manſion and one ſet of buildings,	2,600	
Utenſils,	480	
200 negroes at 56l. on an average,	11,200	
Cattle,	320	
		£. 17,160

One year's expence.

Expences on 200 negroes, including overſeers, 4l. a head.	800	
Repairs of buildings,	90	
Wear and tear,	100	
Cattle,	40	
Taxes,	32	
Extra charges,	86	
Supply of negroes,	460	
		1,608
		£. 18,768

Product.

89 hogſheads ſugar, at 19l.	1,691
70 at 18l.	1,260
276 at 15l.	4,140
	7,091
200 hhds. of rum,	1,800
Carried over,	£. 8,891

Brought forward,	£.	8,891
Timber and ſundry articles,		75
Total,	£.	8,966
Annual expence,		1,608
Annual profit,		7,358

This is near 39 per cent. intereſt of the capital, but it was drawn up from the particulars of an extraordinary year: while the poſſeſſor was on the plantation himſelf, he made near 27 per cent. ſince he has been in England, his neat produce is only 9 per cent. a freſh inſtance of the loſs attending any perſon poſſeſſing eſtates in the WeſtIndia iſlands without living upon them.

There is a very great error in the culture of the new lands in this iſland, which is the clearing them of wood in ſuch a manner as to exclude the uſe of the plough: this has been the caſe with all our iſlands, but the new ſettlers in Granada have, through an eagerneſs for profit, left the ſtumps ſo thick that no plough can be uſed; and even for hoes, by the accounts I have received, the inconvenience muſt be great. It is much to be regretted that they will not beſtow a little extra expence upon this article in their firſt undertaking, and at the ſame time determine upon introducing

ducing horſe-culture in every branch of their agriculture where it is practicable. Another circumſtance of conſequence, and which demands equal attention, is their making free with the fertility of the freſh lands ſo much as our planters are too apt to do; the conſequence of which will be, exhauſting them in a few years, and then they will be in a worſe ſtate than if the ſoil under good management had not been of a comparable richneſs.

TOBAGO lies a little to the ſouth-eaſt of Granada; it is thirty-two miles long, and about nine broad, being ſeventy miles in circumference; it is rather larger than Barbadoes. The climate, though it lies only eleven degrees and ten minutes north from the equator, is not near ſo hot as might be expected, the force of the ſun's rays being tempered by the coolneſs of the ſea-breeze. When it was firſt inhabited, it was thought unhealthy, but as ſoon as it was a little cleared and cultivated, it was found to be equally pleaſant and wholeſome, which the Dutch aſcribed, in a great meaſure, to the odoriferous ſmell exhaled from the ſpice and rich gum trees, a notion borrowed from their countrymen in the Eaſt Indies, who

who are perſuaded that cutting down the clove trees in the Moluccas has rendered thoſe iſlands very unhealthy. Another circumſtance which may recommend the climate, is the iſland's lying out of the track of the hurricanes. There are many riſing grounds over all the iſland, but it cannot be properly ſtyled mountainous. The ſoil is very finely diverſified, being in ſome places light and ſandy, in others mixed with gravel and ſmall flints, but in general it is a deep, rich, black mould. Hardly any country can be better watered than Tobago, for beſides ſprings that are found in plenty all over the iſland, there are not fewer than eighteen rivulets that run from the hills into the ſea; but there are very few or no moraſſes or marſhes, or any lakes, pools, or collections of ſtanding waters, which of courſe muſt render it more healthy. It is covered with all that vaſt variety of timber that is to be found in moſt countries in the Weſt Indies, and many of theſe as extraordinary in ſize as excellent in their nature. The ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to fruit trees, and amongſt theſe there are ſome that are peculiar to Tobago; ſuch, for inſtance, as the true nutmeg tree, which the Dutch, who

of

of all nations could not in that reſpect be deceived, affirm to have found here. It is true, they ſay, it is a wild nutmeg, that the mace is leſs florid, and the taſte of the nut itſelf more pungent, though larger and fairer to the eye than the ſpice of the ſame kind brought by them from the Eaſt Indies. The cinnamon tree grows likewiſe in this iſland, though the bark is ſaid to have a taſte of cloves as well as cinnamon. Here likewiſe grows the tree that produces the true *gum copal*, reſembling that brought from the continent of America, and very different from what goes by the ſame name in the reſt of the Weſt India iſlands. All ground proviſions are produced here in the utmoſt abundance, as well as in the higheſt perfection. There is likewiſe plenty of wild hogs and other animals, together with great quantities of fowl, and an amazing variety both of ſea and river fiſh. In the time the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of this iſland, which was not many years, they exported large quantities of tobacco, ſugar, caſſia, ginger, cinnamon, ſaſſafras, gum copal, cocoa, rocou, indigo, and cotton; beſides rich woods, materials for dying, drugs of different kinds, and ſeveral ſorts of delicious ſweetmeats. We ſhall here take

take the liberty of obſerving, that there is at leaſt the higheſt probability of our being able to produce all the valuable ſpices of the Eaſt Indies in this iſland. Cinnamon is ſaid to grow in ſome of the other Weſt India iſlands, and general Codrington had once an intention to try how much it might be improved by a regular cultivation in his iſland of Barbuda. It is univerſally allowed, that the bark of what is called the wild cinnamon tree in Tobago is beyond compariſon the beſt in all the Weſt Indies, and even in its preſent ſtate may be made an article of great value. The bark when cured with care differs from that in the Eaſt Indies, by being ſtronger and more acrid while it is freſh; and when it has been kept for ſome time it loſes that pungency, and acquires the flavour of cloves. This is preciſely the ſpice for which there is a very conſiderable ſale at Liſbon, Paris, and over all Italy. This kind of ſpice is drawn principally from Brazil, and the Portugueze believe that their cinnamon trees were originally brought from Ceylon, while it was in their poſſeſſion, but that through the alteration of ſoil and climate they are degenerated into this kind of ſpice, and this may very probably be true: however, from

their ſize and number it ſeems to admit of no doubt, that the common trees actually growing in Tobago are the natural production of that iſland, and the point with us is to know what improvement may be made with reſpect to theſe. The nutmeg tree, as well as the cinnamon, is a native of this iſland: we cannot doubt of the fact, that is, of the nutmeg's growing here; becauſe we find it aſſerted in a book addreſſed to M. de Beveren, then governor of Tobago. A man who had invented a falſehood would hardly have had the boldneſs to repeat it, not only to a reſpectable perſon, but to the perſon in the world who muſt have the cleareſt knowledge of its being a falſehood. The nutmeg tree that naturally grows in Tobago, is in all probability as true, and may, by due care and pains, be rendered as valuable a nutmeg as thoſe that grow any where elſe; for the fact really is, that wherever there are nutmegs, there are wild nutmegs, or, as ſome ſtyle them, mountain nutmegs, which are longer and larger, but much inferior in the flavour to the true nutmeg, and are very liable to be worm-eaten; the point is to know how theſe defects may be remedied, or, in other words, wherein the difference conſiſts between the wild, taſte-

taſteleſs, and uſeleſs nutmeg, and that which is true, aromatic, and of courſe a valuable ſpice *.

This idea, with other arguments to inforce it, too cogent to be overturned, are to be met with in the ſame work, which it muſt be confeſſed by every one is very well reflected, and drawn up with much candour and judgment: but unfortunately for the intereſts of this country, they have met with no more attention than if the author had wrote concerning raiſing ſpices in the moon: it is near ten years ſince he compoſed his treatiſe, yet has not there been the leaſt ſtep taken towards making the experiment, though nothing can be more obvious than the deſign, nor more eaſy than the execution, of taking plants wild from the foreſt, and trying what change a regular cultivation will make in their flavour and nature. Our miniſters have attended enough to *ſelling* the lands in theſe ceded iſlands, but as to the national improvement of them, they have neither thought nor cared about it. Very much is it to be regretted, that ſomething at the public expence has not been done towards aſcertain-

* *Conſiderations on the Sugar Trade.*

ing the degree of improvement which the native productions of theſe iſlands are capable of receiving. A very ſmall public plantation for this purpoſe, under the conduct of an able botaniſt, would be ſufficient for the experiment; nor can I ſee any good objections to ſuch a ſcheme, upon the ſcore of an expence which could hardly amount to more than a few hundred pounds a year.

Dropping the idea of improvements, which we may be certain will, for want of public virtue, never be executed, it remains for us to remark, that the ceded iſlands of St. Vincent, Dominica, Granada, and Tobago, are among the few principal acquiſitions made by the late glorious war. Before the ſucceſſes of that war took place, it was a common complaint in our iſlands that good ſugar-land was ſo ſcarce, that the product of that commodity was entirely at a ſtand, while our rivals, the French, were making an amazing progreſs, owing to the great plenty of excellent land at their command: but the acquiſition of theſe iſlands has at leaſt lifted us from that ſtagnant ſituation, in which nothing but a decline could be expected; the purchaſe of land in theſe territories, and their cultivation, has animated our people ſince the laſt peace, and

given them ſome of that activity which ever attends advance: in commerce and politics no enemy is more to be dreaded than ſtanding ſtill. Had we not ſecured theſe iſlands, our ruin in the Weſt Indies muſt ſoon have followed, without the greateſt dexterity of management, for France has made a much greater acquiſition by gaining the Spaniſh half of Hiſpaniola in exchange for Louiſiana; which is ſuch an acquiſition of valuable territory in the Weſt Indies, as we can never hope again to make.

But while our rivals have ſuch an advantage of territory, be it our aim to gain the aſcendancy in induſtry; and that is principally to be done in the quick and thorough cultivation of theſe iſlands. Public arrangements ought to co-operate with private endeavours; encouragement ſhould be given to ſettlers to plant thoſe parts of the iſland which do not ſell, which will of courſe be all the parts that do not poſſeſs every requiſite for cane-grounds; but the climate is highly propitious to commodities as valuable as ſugar: encouragement ſhould be given to ſuch ſettlers to go upon coffee, indigo, cocoa, cotton, cochineal, and other articles, ſo that every part of the iſlands, except thoſe which it would be proper to

leave in wood from ruggedneſs of ſituation, might be brought into ſome kind or other of profitable culture. With reſpect to ſpices, which certainly our India company might long ago have ſecured in ſome of their ſettlements, ſmall plantations, of the native growths, ſhould be made, in ſpots ſelected for that purpoſe, to ſee what perfection culture would bring them to; we ſhould probably, by this means, gain at leaſt ſome articles that would be uſeful and profitable in certain branches of our commerce. The expence would be ſmall, the benefit might be great.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

BAHAMA ISLANDS.

PROVIDENCE.

Climate — Soil—Productions—Obſervations on their neglected ſtate—Propoſals for their improvement.

THE Lucayos, or Bahama iſlands, are ſome hundreds in number, ſome of them many miles in length, and others little better than rocks or knoles riſing above the water, which render navigation among them remarkably dangerous. They are ſeated in the fineſt climate of the world, between 21 and 27 deg. north latitude, which, though very hot on the continent, is in theſe iſlands but another word for an almoſt perpetual ſpring. The iſle of Bahama is in lat. 26 deg. 30 min. being about 50 miles long, but very narrow. Providence is in 25 deg. it is 28 miles long, and 11 broad. Some of them are of much larger ſizes than theſe, but not above three or four inhabited: Providence is the ſeat

of government. In 1763, the imports to Great Britain were above four thouſand pounds from Providence.

I before remarked, that the climate is excellent in moſt of them; of this I have been aſſured by a gentleman who ſpent ſome time among them during the late war: he added, that the heats were temperated in the very hotteſt months by the ſea breezes, and the number of the iſlands ſurrounding, gave them more than an equivalent to the land-breeze, by generally fanning them with eddies and gales of wind. Nothing of that ſuffocating heat which renders the Weſt Indies ſo pernicious to European conſtitutions; and which ſtrictly confines the inhabitants to their houſes during the beſt part of the day; on the contrary, in July and Auguſt you may be out about any kind of rural ſports or buſineſs without the leaſt inconvenience. The healthineſs of the iſlands is owing greatly to the dryneſs of their ſoil: there is not a ſwamp, a marſh, or a bog in any one that has been examined; they are high, dry, hilly, or rocky ſpots admirably watered with ſtreams, being in the exemption from bad water, and in the poſſeſſion of good, equal to any country in the known world.

While

While the heats in ſummer are ſo little oppreſſive, the ſpring is a ſeaſon too delicious to admit deſcription, and the winter is entirely free from ſnow or froſt; the tendereſt fruits of the Weſt Indies flouriſh throughout them, and are of flavour equal to what is taſted in much hotter climates. The uncommon healthineſs of the few inhabitants, proves how juſt this repreſentation of the climate is.

Reſpecting the ſoil, it is in moſt of the larger iſlands various, but every where excellent. It conſiſts generally of a loamy ſand, in ſome places mixed with flints, and in others free from them: very conſiderable tracts are of a black rich mould, light, but of a putrid appearance, and of a good depth; this is not found only in the vallies, but along the ſlopes of the hills to a great tract of country through many of the iſlands. The extraordinary growth to which all vegetables, cultivated and ſpontaneous, arrive, is proof ſufficient of the great fertility of this land. Among its productions are to be reckoned ſugar, cotton, indigo of a remarkable fine quality, cocoa, ginger, pimento, wild cinnamon, pine apples, guavas, bananas, plantains, oranges, lemons, citrons, &c. theſe valuable articles

are

are either wild, or cultivated in gardens; for the quantity in regular culture by way of plantation is very ſmall, as may be judged by the whole product of all the iſlands at the Britiſh market being under five thouſand pounds, and in that ſmall ſum their cedar and other valuable timber make a conſiderable portion.

If the fineneſs of the climate, and the richneſs of the ſoil be conſidered, it will appear ſelf-evident, that every article uſually cultivated in our Weſt India iſles, might with a certainty of ſucceſs be raiſed here. Is it not therefore aſtoniſhing that they ſhould be left in ſo neglected a ſtate? That ſo few enterpriſing minds ſhould be found to undertake plantations in them: tracts of land might here be choſen and had for no other expence than paying the uſual fees of office; whereas 60l. per acre for land not better, is a common price in our ſugar iſlands. That commodity might beyond all doubt be cultivated to no ſmall advantage, for it thrives luxuriantly in much more northerly climates; and if the advantage of plenty of land, with all ſorts of lumber on the ſpot, with a profuſion of proviſions of all kinds, both for the ſlaves and cattle of a plantation; if theſe circumſtances

ſtances are conſidered, with the difference of having the land almoſt for nothing, or paying 60l. an acre for it—if theſe points are conſidered, it will be ſufficiently plain, that conſiderable eſtates might be made by ſugar-planting in theſe iſlands, as it is moſt certain that leſs crops than the produce of Jamaica and Barbadoes would pay better intereſt for a capital here, than large ones there, all expences carried to account.

But ſuppoſing that equal profit by ſugar could not be made, which is much more than there is any neceſſity to grant, why ſhould they not be applied to indigo, cotton, vines, tobacco, &c. In theſe articles there has never been a doubt of the climate being hot enough—nor can any perſon doubt but they would yield larger crops than are gained of them on the continent. And a beneficial culture of theſe commodities, in ſuch of the iſlands as are capable of cultivation, would bring into this nation an annual profit of one or two hundred thouſand pounds a year, without reckoning any thing for ſugar: but if the moſt was made of them that they are capable of, knowing people well acquaintied with them, have thought they would be worth half a million

lion a year to Britain; inſtead of producing not five thouſand pounds.

The navigation, I am ſenſible, of theſe iſlands has always been reckoned very hazardous; but this notion muſt not be adopted in general; when ſhips have been driven in ſtorms among their rocks and ſhoals, ſeveral have been wrecked, but as to thoſe that have ſteered regularly thither as their courſe, the navigation has never proved dangerous: there is a regular communication open by ſhips often paſſing to and fro between Providence and Charles Town in Carolina, Philadelphia, &c. and alſo to the Leeward Iſlands, not to ſpeak of thoſe which paſs between England and that iſland. And if the navigation is frequented for the ſmall concerns of theſe iſlands at preſent, and the few commodities of value they export, ſurely by a parity of reaſoning we may ſuppoſe, that if more valuable products were raiſed, and in much greater abundance, the navigation would not then be objected to: if it is ſufficiently ſafe to induce ſhipping now to frequent it, moſt certainly they would then. Nor ſhould I omit to remark, that the inhabitants on the few iſlands that are at all peopled, are the moſt dextrous ſeamen in all America;

America; one principal branch of their employment is building ſloops and other ſmall veſſels, with which they carry on a traffic between the northern colonies and the ſugar iſlands, and export their own proviſions in tolerable quantities to thoſe iſlands; this makes them able navigators, and gives plenty of pilots for moſt of the paſſages and channels of their own Archipelago.

But there is another view in which theſe iſlands may be conſidered, which though not eſſential, yet deſerves mention: it is that of affording perhaps the moſt agreeable and eligible retreat for men whoſe active or variegated lives have taken off that reliſh for the world which once actuated them; and to whom nothing appears with ſuch charms as a proſpect of a ſafe, eaſy, and agreeable retreat. Or to men who from failures, loſſes, diſappointments, or a general want of income for living agreeably in a wealthy, luxurious, and expenſive country, are deſirous of ſpending, at leaſt, ſome years of their life in a retirement, where their little fortunes may be ſufficient for providing them with ſuch enjoyments as their own country denies them: to any ſuch, theſe iſlands could hardly appear

appear in any other light but that of a paradiſe upon earth, which will plainly appear, from conſidering them with this view.

In the firſt place, here is an air and climate perfectly unexceptionable, as healthy to an European conſtitution as almoſt any other part of America; where the heats are never exceſſive, and where ſevere cold was never known: a clear ſerene ſky, and an atmoſphere free from every ſpecies of damps and fogs; a ſoil as fertile as any in the world in the production of all the articles that form the neceſſaries and ſuperfluities of life, from bread to pine-apples, and that in a profuſion which ſcarcely any other country experiences. In addition to theſe circumſtances, here is further to be met with a plenty as remarkable of both ſea and river fiſh, with various ſorts of wild fowl and game: timber in every iſland for all the purpoſes of building whether houſes, or ſloops and boats. And in point of agreeableneſs, many of the iſlands abound in ſituations which are equally pleaſing and romantic. There are in Mogane and ſome others of them the fineſt ſlopes of country that can be imagined. A wave of gentle but varied declivities from the tops

tops of very high hills, ſhelving down to a bold ſea-ſhore; in ſome places ſpread with open lawn, in others ſcattered with open groves of tall trees, rivers winding in ſlopes, and in other places falling down the hills in caſcades, the whole bounded generally by thick woods: ſome of theſe ſcenes take in the ſpace of three, four, or ſix hundred acres, and have from the ſhipping the nobleſt effect imaginable.

Where now can ſuch perſons as I have mentioned, find a more eligible retreat than in ſuch ſcenes as theſe! Much more ſo than the Bermudas Iſlands, where there is a confined ſociety, which in the nature of things muſt be full of all the jars and bickerings of the world; and where the people are in too low a ſphere of life to afford converſation pleaſing or ſatisfactory to a man of any ideas. But the Bahamas are ſo circumſtanced, that a man may live in juſt that degree of retirement he likes—that is, he may live entirely to himſelf, and come again into the world whenever he wiſhes for it.

IMPOR-

IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES TO BRITAIN.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Principles upon which colonies are eſtabliſhed —How far anſwered by thoſe of Britain— Wherein their importance conſiſts—Depends on climate—Obſervations.

IN conducting the reader the tour of all our colonies, I have laid before him every circumſtance that was neceſſary for giving a complete idea of their agriculture; little has been ſaid of their commerce or of their manufactures, becauſe it was conceived, that it is upon the culture of their lands that the intereſt of this country in America chiefly depends; and becauſe the channels through which my intelligence came,

came, principally afforded communications relative to agriculture. Upon the general importance of the colonies there has been much wrote, and by able pens; but from the extravagance to which certain arguments have been carried of late, we may reaſonably conclude, that clear ideas are not yet entertained, not ſo much upon the importance in general, as the points upon which that importance principally depends. A very little diſcrimination is ſufficient to convince us, that however well our beſt writers agree in that general circumſtance, they are far from attributing effects to the ſame cauſes. What I ſhall chiefly attend to therefore in this chapter, will be to point out in what manner Britain reaps ſuch great advantages by her colonies—in what degree it depends on their agriculture —what variations there are in huſbandry, which are attended with correſponding variations in the intereſt of the mother-country. In making this enquiry, I ſhall be naturally led to clear up ſome apparent difficulties, which the reader might remark in his progreſs through the preceding pages.

There are three grand reaſons for a country's planting colonies. *Firſt*, afford-

ing a *national* retreat to ſuch perſons as will emigrate. *Secondly*, affording a retreat to the emigrants of foreign countries. *Thirdly*, raiſing the productions of climates different from their own, and thereby ſaving the purchaſe of ſuch productions.

As to the firſt reaſon, every one muſt know that there is a certain degree of emigration at all times going on from all nations; neceſſity or private inclination will carry many people from one country to another, and very many of the number are indifferent where they go, provided it is from home—or to a country in which they can maintain themſelves better than at home; if they go from Britain to France or Spain, thoſe countries are proportionably ſtrengthened, and we are weakened; it is therefore of particular importance to provide a colony for ſuch perſons, that they may not, by their emigration, add to the population of an enemy's country, or that of a rival. For the ſame reaſon that makes this rule of conduct adviſeable, it is alſo to be wiſhed, that the emigrants from our enemies and rivals may make choice of our colonies, by which means, at the ſame time that they weaken them, they ſtrengthen us. From the many favours nature has ſhowered

ſhowered down upon ſome of our American ſettlements, we ſee them reſorted to by numbers of French, Dutch, Germans, Danes, Swedes, and Switzers, adding thereby greatly to the populouſneſs of the country, and enriching Britain by their labour. The third reaſon for forming colonies is no leſs cogent; countries in a northern latitude, like Britain, cannot raiſe either ſugar, tea, coffee, wine, ſilk, tobacco, indigo, cochineal, and many other articles; nor can their own territories yield a ſufficiency of hemp, flax, iron, timber, &c. all ſuch commodities muſt therefore be purchaſed in the way of trade from other nations; but if the import is large, the country is under a neceſſity of exporting other commodities or manufactures in great quantities, or a conſiderable balance muſt be paid in bullion, to the impoveriſhment of the country: and in proportion to the import of ſuch commodities, is the induſtry and wealth of other nations increaſed at the expence of Britain. Hence the value of colonies that will provide us with ſuch commodities, which ſpares our taking them from foreign nations, which ſell them to us not for bullion but for manufactures; and whoſe increaſe in people and wealth is

ſo much added to the ſcale of Britain, inſtead of that material deduction which the increaſe of ſome of our neighbours makes from us. This is ſo evident, that it can ſcarcely be contradicted with propriety.

Here therefore we deduce, that the population of the colonies is an increaſing weight in the ſcale of Britain, and that their producing thoſe commodities which the climate of Britain refuſes, or which we cannot raiſe in ſufficient quantity, is an advantage of the firſt magnitude. The exceſs to which the firſt may be carried in time, will be more properly examined, when I come to conſider the probability of their independance.

In the production of ſuch ſtaples as Britain cannot produce herſelf, there are ſome circumſtances which demand diſtinctions; for the policy of colonization is one of the moſt curious ſpeculations that can be made in general politics. When the products are raiſed, ſhould they be brought to Britain in Britiſh or American veſſels? Should the ſame products be ſold to other nations, and in what manner? Should the colonies purſue other employments, ſuch as commerce, manufactures, or fiſheries? How are they to be reſtrained? And in theſe queries

ries it is not to be ſuppoſed merely what a mother-country would wiſh for—but what ſhe would command, from the nature of her ſuperiority.

A wide field for diſcuſſion here opens itſelf, but having been ſo mueh diſcuſſed by others, the leſs will ſuffice from me.

Two circumſtances require equal attention; firſt, preſerving the natural and political rights of the Americans; and ſecondly, the intereſt of Britain: it is not neceſſary that either ſhould be ſacrificed to the other, but then a ſenſible and attentive conduct is eſſential: things muſt not be left to their own progreſs, but thrown by artificial means into that train which is neceſſary for both. Colonies may naturally think themſelves entitled to the common privileges of raiſing what commodities they pleaſe—ſelling them to whom they pleaſe—navigating their veſſels how and where they pleaſe—and, in a word, acting to all purpoſes as a mother-country. But on the other hand, if all this is indulged, inſtead of being colonies they are independant ſtates, and a country can never have any intereſt in planting and ſupporting ſuch.

That a ſtrong diſtinction muſt be made here is evidently neceſſary: the mother-country diſcovers, founds, peoples, and

ſupports the people for ſome ages; does not this lay them under an obligation different from what is experienced by any original and independant people? Does it not, upon the very face of it, imply a dependance, or an agreement to certain conditions? Is it to be ſuppoſed, that any people would plant colonies with any other idea? And is it not clear that the people who go to them do in that action, and in accepting the protection of the mother-country, tacitly acknowledge and agree to a ſubmiſſion to thoſe reciprocal terms of agreement which are ſuppoſed to bind them? Theſe *ſuppoſed* terms (for no abſolute expreſſion can be given to ſo uncertain an idea) are a general obedience to the acts of the Britiſh legiſlature, when legally, and according to the laws of nations, exerted. In the eſtabliſhment and progreſs of all our colonies they invariably obeyed the authority of the Britiſh parliament, and in many inſtances even that of the crown; and what is of conſequence, they received perpetual acceſſions of new ſettlers during the whole period of their ſubmiſſion to ſuch authority. All this proves ſufficiently, that the mother-country has an undoubted right ſo to regulate the

he purſuits of the colonies, as to render them conſiſtent with her own intereſt.

It has been found, for inſtance, neceſſary to prevent the colonies from trading immediately with foreign nations; a point of policy neceſſary in the management of all the colonies which the European nations have ſettled in America; for if this was allowed, they would to all uſeful purpoſes be the colonies of other powers as much as of our own. It has alſo been enacted, that no law paſſed in the American aſſemblies ſhall have force till aſſented to by king and council in England. Various other inſtances might be given, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew a reſtraining and ſuperior power. And in the exertions of this power we ſee nothing to ſhock the political liberty and freedom of the coloniſts, any more than in diſtant countries of England being governed by laws paſſed at Weſtminſter, and to which perhaps not a five hundredth part of the inhabitants ever gave a direct or virtual aſſent.

Having premiſed theſe circumſtances, which prove that the mother country had a right, and muſt always enjoy it, of regulating the purſuits of the colonies, ſo as to turn them to their own advantage, it re-

mains to be conſidered how far this conduct has been purſued by Britain, in which enquiry will be ſeen thoſe errors which have brought on the differences that have lately happened between her and her American plantations.

I before obſerved, that one great benefit reſulting from colonies was the production of ſuch commodities as the climate of the mother-country will not yield; this advantage Britain has experienced in an high degree. Her iſlands in the Weſt Indies produce that great modern luxury, ſugar, in larger quantities than ſhe can conſume; ſo that after ſatisfying her own conſumption, there remains a ſurplus which is re-exported to other nations of Europe that have not ſugar iſlands. We have ſhewn in the preceding pages what a conſiderable ſum this total amount of ſugar, &c. is, which, being in this age a neceſſary of life, muſt have been bought of France, had we not poſſeſſed our Weſt India iſlands. The amount of theſe commodities is between two and three millions ſterling, a ſum ſufficient to drain any nation, and would at this day, while the trade of the kingdom is in a moſt flouriſhing ſituation, give ſuch a balance againſt her,

her, as to bring on every evil that can accrue from the impoveriſhment of a people.

If it be ſaid that the Weſt Indies and England are not the ſame country, and that theſe commodities, at leaſt as much of them as are conſumed, coſt the nation as much as if bought of foreigners, I reply, that ſuppoſing this was true, which is not the caſe, ſtill there is this eſſential difference, that in the tranſaction with our own iſlands we pay in manufactures, but in our tranſaction with a foreign country, we muſt pay in whatever the balance of the commerce between the two nations is paid in, which, with ſuch a vaſt import added, would certainly be bullion. We already pay a conſiderable annual balance to France; but what would that balance be if our import of Weſt India commodities was added to it? Importation of any thing, and in almoſt any quantity, is harmleſs, or perhaps beneficial, as long as paid for with manufactures; for ſuch importation is then the means of feeding our poor, and ſupporting our population. But this is not the only advantage reſulting from our iſlands: in the cultivation and ſale of the commodity, there is a great profit made by the planter, as we every day

ſee by the large eſtates made in that part of the world: all theſe eſtates come at laſt to Britain—every great fortune made enables the poſſeſſor to come over and live here, and he leaves his plantation to overſeers. The overſeers in their turn make fortunes, and do the ſame; and freſh overſeers are left for the ſame purpoſe: but the end of the whole is the ſame, all the money that is made in conſiderable ſums is ſure to ſend its owners to England. What the amount of ſuch incomes ſpent by abſentees is, cannot be diſcovered, but every one's knowledge muſt tell him that it muſt be very conſiderable. This circumſtance is clear profit, from having ſugar colonies of our own, inſtead of buying our ſugar, &c. from France or other countries.

Nor is the employment of ſhipping and ſeamen to be forgotten, which are of the very firſt importance to a maritime and commercial power: the navigation to the Weſt Indies breeds and employs many ſeamen, all of which would be loſt to the nation, if ſhe was to loſe her ſugar colonies; or, what would be worſe than loſt, they might be added to the navigation of France and other countries, than which nothing could be more highly detrimental. The freight

freight alone of our Weſt India ſtaples amounts to above half a million ſterling, whereas the ſhare we ſhould have in the freight of the ſame commodities from European countries would be very inſignificant in its amount.

I have entered particularly into this enquiry concerning the ſugar colonies, becauſe they are more immediately applicable to every circumſtance of the argument than moſt of our other ſettlements: and the inſtance is ſtrong to ſhew us the great importance of planting colonies in ſuch climates as produce commodities totally different from thoſe of the mother-country; in a luxurious age the products of one zone are neceſſaries of life in another; in order therefore to have as many commodities as poſſible, without purchaſing them of foreign nations, the mother-country ſhould be in one zone and the colonies in another, which is the caſe with Britain and her Weſt India iſlands. It is theſe principles which have proved ſo fortunate in the colonization we have carried on in this part of the world; and whether we conſider wealth, employment of our poor, of our ſeamen, ſhipping, and all the attendants of navigation, we muſt decide that our

our Weſt India iſlands are in every reſpect as valuable ſettlements as any the world can boaſt. France poſſeſſes others in the ſame region, which are ſuperior only in proportion as they are ſuperior in numbers and quantity; the qualities of one are equal to thoſe of the other.

While we reap ſuch immenſe advantages from theſe iſlands, it is neceſſary to obſerve two circumſtances, firſt, that they are gained without laying any violence or conſtraint upon them, which is contrary to the common principles of all colonies, or the natural liberties and rights of mankind; and ſecondly, that the benefits we receive from them are greatly owing to their attending to agriculture alone. The firſt ſhews, that the national advantage made by colonies does not reſult from oppreſſion, but from a fair communication of reciprocal benefits. On the ſecond I muſt obſerve, that it is the caſe to a very extraordinary degree: the Weſt India iſlands are, I apprehend, more free from manufactures than any other territories in the world. In all our continental plantations there are either manufactories or numerous families who ſpin, weave, and do other works of *manufacture* for the cloathing or anſwering other wants

wants of themſelves or a part of themſelves. But in the iſlands there is hardly to be found a man, woman, or child, that has a ſingle article of dreſs, furniture, or implement of buſineſs, but what is imported: this ſhews that huſbandry is the moſt profitable employment they can follow. While a man was taken up in weaving a piece of cloth, or making hoſe or any other manufacture which brought him in five pounds for his labour, he would, in working upon the land, or at thoſe trades dependant on the land, earn three times that ſum; from whence it follows, that manufactures can never be introduced into ſuch a country, ſince, in order to make them, ſuch wages muſt be given as would render the fabric vaſtly dearer than the ſame made in England, with all the additional charges of ſending it to the Weſt Indies, which would bring ruin to all ſuch undertakings. Neither do the inhabitants of theſe iſlands apply themſelves to commerce, except it be to the illicit trade with the Spaniards, in which very great profits are made; and even in this many more North American veſſels are found than Weſt Indian, for it much deſerves attention, that theſe iſlands poſſeſs very few ſhips, or, more properly ſpeak-

ſpeaking, ſcarcely any; their trade is carried on in North American or Britiſh veſſels—even when the planters turn merchants, as moſt of them do, in ſhipping their own products, ſtill they do it all in veſſels belonging to other people. All this is owing to the profit of their buſineſs; when their huſbandry is ſo beneficial, as to pay, we will ſuppoſe, 25, 30, or 35 per cent. it would ill anſwer to have money in ſhipping at 8 or 10 per cent.

Here therefore is an example of colonies going of themſelves into the purſuit which the mother-country has the greateſt reaſon to approve and promote: every circumſtance attending colonization in the Weſt Indies is preciſely in the train beſt calculated for the intereſt of Britain, and at the ſame time for the profit of the planters. This is not the caſe with all our colonies; to what therefore is it owing here? The anſwer to this is ready enough; it is owing to *the profit of their huſbandry*. Every people will give their application to that branch of induſtry which they find moſt advantageous; if the ſoil and climate of a colony are ſuch as will produce *valuable* commodities, it is to the production of ſuch commodities they will apply. Why is not Barbadoes filled with mer-

merchants, fiſhermen, manufactures, and farmers, like New England? Becauſe planting ſugar is there a more profitable employment. Why is not New England filled with planters? Becauſe trade, fiſhing, manufacturing, and farming, are more profitable employments. This diſtinction is that of climate, and it gives a leſſon of all others the moſt important in the politics of colonization, which is to plant them in climates the reverſe of the mother-country. This is the principle upon which depends the immenſe conſequence of our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions. Britain and thoſe iſlands are ſimilar in none of their products: the latter wants every thing produced by the former; the former wants every thing produced by the latter; thus it is impoſſible the one ſhould ever rival the other, as the communication between them conſiſts of a regular exchange of good offices, the one yields upon the balance profit to the other; protection and a ready market are diſpenſed in return.

If from the Weſt Indies we proceed northward to the ſouthern continental colonies, we ſhall find as we go continued reaſons to ſhew the great importance of colonies to Britain: by that title I mean the

tlements to the ſouth of the tobacco colonies; theſe produce rice, indigo, cotton, ſilk, wine, and other commodities which are of great value in a Britiſh market, and which Britain cannot produce herſelf: the ſame reaſons that make the ſugar colonies of ſo much value to us, render theſe the ſame; and though ſome writers have calculated that theſe ſettlements are not ſo valuable as the iſlands proportioned to the numbers of their people, yet we are to remember, that this is not owing to a want of value in their products, (ſome of which, ſilk and indigo, are far more coſtly than ſugar), but to the country being more agreeable and healthy to live in, which induces many perſons to reſide in their back parts, and cultivate common proviſions to ſupply the reſt with—and alſo to the eaſe with which any man who has five or ten pounds, may get a grant of land, build a hut, buy a cow or two, and turn farmer; ſuch people, though they reckon in the numbers of the province, produce perhaps none of the ſtaples of it: whereas, if only thoſe were reckoned who are employed on the ſtaples and the trades dependant, they would be found to raiſe as great an amount per head as the planters of the ſugar colonies.

nies. This circumſtance does not act in the iſlands from two cauſes, firſt the want of land, which is ſo far from being given to whoever will have it, that it is ſold at conſiderable prices;—ſecondly, the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, which is in general ſuch, that no perſon would chuſe to make it their reſidence for ſmall profits, or with any other view than to make money enough to be able to live elſewhere. Theſe circumſtances cannot but have the effect of fixing far more people in the continental colonies, proportioned to the production of ſtaples, than in the Weſt Indies.

This kingdom enjoys a very conſiderable trade by means of theſe colonies; out of above an hundred thouſand barrels of rice which they export, we do not conſume ourſelves above four or five thouſand; the reſt goes to Spain, Portugal, Germany, Holland, and the North. Indigo is an article of the firſt conſequence to our manufactures, ſilk is the ſame, raw hides the ſame; ſo that theſe commodities are in fact equally valuable to us with ſugar: they are not bought with money, but with manufactures; the navigation occaſioned by them is all our own, ſo that they add to

our ſtrength and wealth in the ſame manner as ſugar, cocoa, coffee, ginger, &c. The ſouthern colonies have no manufactures among them, they are without fiſheries, and their commerce conſiſts in nothing but ſending lumber to the Weſt Indies, and ſhipping their ſtaples for a Britiſh market in Britiſh bottoms.

Objections indeed would have been raiſed againſt the production of rice, upon the principle of its being a grain, which in the European markets rivals the exportation of Britiſh corn. This has an appearance of truth, and in ſome years in a ſmall degree may be ſo: but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that if we had ſold no rice, we ſhould have added a proportional quantity to the export of corn: nothing can be farther from truth. Rice is purchaſed by very many people, who would not lay the money out in corn if they could not get the rice: it is uſed for ſoup and other different purpoſes from corn; and if conſumed to ſave wheat by ſome, it may be a matter of choice rather than œconomy. Nor ſhould we forget that our corn exportation is quite another thing from the export of rice from Carolina, it is uncertain, depends upon the crop; prohibitions have of late been common

mon and continual; and in ſeveral years we have imported inſtead of exported: now it would certainly have been very abſurd to have reſtrained or wiſhed to have reſtrained the culture of rice, becauſe it is poſſible that it may rival us to the amount of two or three thouſand pounds in four or five hundred thouſand pounds worth that is ſold. Beſides, the export of rice is regular; it is a grain that depends very little on the ſeaſons, and being made not for the conſumption of the country where grown, but in order all to be exported, the money gained by the trade comes as regularly as the year; and is, in a word, the very contrary of our corn trade for ſome years paſt. For theſe reaſons we may determine rice to be a very proper ſtaple for a colony, and may look on its increaſe of culture with ſatisfaction, inſtead of being jealous of it. If it increaſes in future, as it has done of late years, it will ſoon bring more money into the kingdom than any other commodity.

If we advance yet farther northward, and take in the tobacco colonies, thoſe of Virginia and Maryland, we ſhall find the ſame reaſons to congratulate ourſelves upon the great value they are of. Tobacco is the

grand ſtaple of theſe ſettlements, a ſtaple as proper as poſſible for a colony, and than which none is more valuable to this kingdom. Out of 96,000 hogſheads made, only 13,500 are conſumed in Britain, and the duty alone of theſe is 26l. 1s. per hogſhead, or 351,675l. The reſt is re-exported to the other parts of Europe, paying alſo a duty, though not ſo heavy, and bringing a flood of wealth into this kingdom.

Every circumſtance that can concur to render a colony valuable to a mother-country, unites in this product, tobacco. Much the larger part of it is conſumed by foreign nations—it could not be profitably raiſed in Britain—it is a bulky commodity, which employs many ſhips and ſeamen—thoſe ſhips are all our own, and the ſeamen belonging to the ports of Britain—it is ſo profitable an article of huſbandry, as to preclude all other employments like ſugar, as long as good land is to be had to plant. All theſe circumſtances are of vaſt importance, and ſhould make us as ſolicitous to increaſe and improve the tobacco culture, as any other article of our American produce.

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The excellency of this ſtaple is ſeen in its enabling the planter to buy every neceſſrry of life except food, and without his attending to any other object. Theſe colonies, ſo far from rivalling us in fiſheries, manufactories, or commerce, have none of the three among them, inſomuch that people have found ſo little profit in herding together, that there has never yet aroſe a ſingle town of any conſequence in either Maryland or Virginia; a ſtrong proof of the advantage they find in ſpreading over the country as planters, rather than fixing in towns as merchants and manufacturers. Theſe colonies, from the health and fertility of the climate and ſoil, are grown very populous, and in proportion as their numbers have increaſed, there has not been an increaſe of freſh land for their tobacco planting: this has been owing, firſt, to the confinement which the war gave their ſettlements, and afterwards to the extreme ill-judged proclamation of 1763, which forbid all ſettlements beyond the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean: this has driven many of their people to common huſbandry, to which the ſoil and climate are equally well adapted. The conſequence of this was, that when the export

of tobacco is divided among the population of the provinces, the people ſeem to earn by it but a ſmall ſum, compared to thoſe of the iſlands and the ſouthern colonies. But we are not from thence to conclude that the ſtaple is deficient in value; on the contrary, I am of opinion, that if the amount of it was divided only among the people actually employed by it, and depending on it, it would then be found more valuable even than ſugar, or at leaſt as valuable. A part of the population applying, for want of freſh land, to the culture of wheat and proviſions, is no fault in tobacco.

But of as great importance as this plant is, yet we are to remember, that it is not the only ſtaple of this colony; it has ſome other very promiſing ones.

	£.
Hemp, 1000 tons, 21l. -	21,000
30 ſail of ſhips, - -	30,000
Maſts, planks, &c. -	55,000
Iron, - - -	35,000
Skins, - - -	25,000
Flax-ſeed, - - -	14,000
Ginſeng and drugs, - -	7,000
£.	187,000

Beſides

Beſides 4000 tons more of hemp worked into the uſes of their ſhips, &c. all theſe articles are true ſtaples, being ſuch as Britain either buys of foreign countries, or can ſell to them in any quantities: they are articles alſo which promiſe a conſiderable increaſe, and which may be carried to a height as the population of theſe provinces increaſe, which, with the help of ſilk and wine, may bye-and-bye be as valuable as tobacco.

It may not be improper here to review the ſtaples of theſe colonies, the ſouthern ones, and the iſlands, as they all unite in the circumſtance of having ſuch valuable ſtaples as render them in every reſpect highly valuable to Great Britain, and more ſo than other ſettlements more to the north can prove. The commodities chiefly produced in all our ſettlements, from Maryland to Grenada, are ſuch as we cannot have at home, of which we conſume great quantities, which muſt be purchaſed of foreigners, and perhaps of enemies, if we had not colonies that produced them. This advantage renders the conſumption of thoſe commodities, not to ſpeak of the re-exportation of many, a benefit to the kingdom rather than an evil; for as the pur-

chaſe is made with our manufactures, the wealthy part of the nation, in proportion as they conſume American luxuries, find employment for their poor neighbours; inſtead of which, if we had no colonies, the rental of their eſtates would go for the employment of poor Frenchmen and Germans; the immenſe difference of which is obvious at firſt ſight. A late writer, from whom however I have had reaſon in the preceding pages to differ in certain articles, gives the following table of the tobacco and ſouthern colonies.

	Ships.	*Seamen.*
Virginia and Maryland,	330	3,960
North Carolina,	34	408
South Carolina,	140	1,680
Georgia,	24	240
St. Auguſtine,	2	24
Penſacola,	10	120
	* 540	6,432
Sugar iſlands, †		3,600
		10,032

	Exports from Britain.	*Exports from Colonies.*
Virginia and Maryland,	865,000	1,040,000
North Carolina,	18,000	68,350
Carried over,	883,000	1,108,350

* *American Traveller.*

† *Editor of Du Pratz.*

Brought forward,	883,0000	1,108,350
South Carolina, -	365,000	395,666
Georgia, - - -	49,000	74,200
St. Auguſtine, - -	7,000	
Penſacola, - -	97,000	63,000
	* 1,401,000	1,641,216
Weſt Indies, † - - - -		2,702,060
		4,343,276

Theſe accounts are not the neweſt, and I have corrected ſome of the particulars from whence they are drawn, elſewhere, as I obſerved before; the real totals at preſent, could they be all known, probably would not be found leſs than 13,000 ſeamen, 650 ſhips, and colony exports of 5,000,000 l. but whether ſomething more, or ſomething leſs, the concluſions to be drawn are the ſame: the poſſeſſion of colonies that produce ſtaples which cauſe ſuch a prodigious commerce of the moſt advantageous ſort in the world; which is entirely carried on in our own products and manufactures, the balance of which is ours—the profit of which, on both ſides, is ours—the ſhips ours—the ſeamen ours—the freight ours—a flouriſhing revenue

* *American Traveller.*
† *Political Eſſays.*

raiſed

raiſed on them, ours—the population of the countries which ſupport this trade, of our brethren and ſubjects of the ſame crown: when all theſe circumſtances are conſidered, they will be found to involve a magnitude of intereſts which have long ſupported the greatneſs of Britain; which now is the moſt firm ſupport of it; and which, by a prudent and political conduct in future, can hardly fail of being an increaſing and improving ſupport.

Theſe therefore are colonies that it much behoves this country to give every degree of encouragement to that it is poſſible they ſhould receive; for by encouraging them, ſhe in fact encourages herſelf. I ſhall hereafter endeavour to ſhew, wherein ſuch encouragement ought to conſiſt: but I ſhall at preſent obſerve, that we ought to be very tender of increaſing one branch of their value to us, that of *duties*, for therein we cramp inſtead of extending their products. Upon tobacco the duties are near three times the value, which is carrying that taxation to a degree which hardly any other commodity knows. Caſes may happen which may make it very adviſeable to lower ſuch burthens, though I believe not unleſs our government is very ill adviſed

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in American affairs: but if (which however is hardly to be expected) the governments of thoſe countries which produce either at home or in colonies the ſame commodities ſhould take political ſteps for greatly encouraging ſuch products, ſuch a rivalſhip would render counter operations neceſſary; in which that of lowering duties would be found eſſential.

As to the northern colonies, all to the north of the tobacco ones may with propriety be claſſed together, ſince neither Penſylvania, New Jerſey, New England, Nova Scotia, nor Canada, have any ſtaple product of agriculture; the conſequence of which is their flying to all other employments; the culture of the ſoil is common huſbandry, like that of Britain herſelf; the employment of their towns, which are numerous and large, is manufactures, commerce, and fiſheries. It is impoſſible they ſhould be ſo employed, and at the ſame time be the occaſion of Britain's proſperity, like the colonies to the ſouth. But ſome writers have carried this deficiency of the northern colonies too far, in allowing under 100,000 l. for all their ſtaples: that this matter may be ſet in a clear light, I ſhall tranſcribe here the totals of ſeveral arti-

articles before inſerted in the tables of their exports, by extracting thoſe articles which may be called ſtaples.

		£.	
Skins,	Hudſon's Bay,	29,340	
	Canada,	76,000	
	New York,	35,000	
	Penſylvania,	50,000	
			190,340
Ginſeng and drugs,	Canada,		3,000
Timber,	Canada,	11,000	
	Nova Scotia,	4,000	
	New England,	75,000	
	New York,	25,000	
	Penſylvania,	35,000	
			150,000
Ships,	New England 70	49,000	
	New York 20	14,000	
	Penſylvania 25	17,500	
			80,500
Pitch, &c.	New England,	- -	600
Pot-aſh,	New England,	35,000	
	New York,	14,000	
			49,000
Flax ſeed,	New York,	14,000	
	Penſylvania,	30,000	
			44,000
Copper and iron,	New York,	20,000	
	Penſylvania,	35,000	
			55,000
		Total,	£. 572,440

The tobacco of Virginia alone amounts to more money than all theſe ſtaples, of all theſe colonies which contain thrice the people of thoſe to the ſouth: but at the ſame

ſame time we muſt acknowledge theſe to be ſtaples, to every intent and purpoſe, doubts have been conceived about timber and ſhip-building; but when it is conſidered that there is ſcarcely any commodity that Britain wants more, witneſs her imports from the Baltic, and building even men of war with fir, there will not be found any reaſons for rejecting them.

The reader will at once recollect that the exports of theſe colonies amount to far greater ſums in fiſh, oil, wheat, &c. but theſe are certainly to be rejected, becauſe in proportion as they increaſe the intereſt of Britain declines. The moſt capital article is that of fiſh, both cod and whale, and therefore I ſhall give it the firſt examination; as it includes more particularly their great navigation—commerce with foreign nations—and the employment of ſeamen; all which being of the greateſt importance to Britain, we ought to enquire whether they are the ſame in the hands of the colonies. And this I ſhall do in the words of a late author, who has attended much to this ſubject.

We are told by Dr. Mitchel, that the Britiſh plantations maintain 45,000 ſeamen, and employ near 2000 ſail of ſhips. Now

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as we have found the number which Britain *poſſeſſes* to be about 12,000, conſequently their own amounts to about 33,000. A North American writer likewiſe calculates the ſhips at 2000. That theſe accounts are not exaggerated, there is ſome reaſon to believe from an aſſertion of another writer, who, ſpeaking of the conſequences of the regulations of the colonies in 1763, ſays that 20,000 ſeamen and fiſhermen were turned out of employment there. Now if 20,000 were at once *out* of employment, the total *in* as well as *out* cannot be leſs than 33,000, eſpecially as the fiſheries were not affected. And if we come to remark the ſentiments of various writers upon *particular branches* of their trade, there will be more reaſons equally ſtrong for ſuppoſing this total not far from the reality. Gee, who wrote about 40 years ago, ſays, the veſſels belonging to New England alone, employed in the fiſhery and coaſting trade (without including that to Europe) amounted to 800. So prodigiouſly as they have increaſed ſince, the reader will eaſily believe them to be much more numerous of late years; and yet that number, at 22 men each, employed 17,600 ſeamen. To double the number, would

would bring it much nearer the truth at preſent. The fiſhery of the colonies, ſays Dr. Mitchel, is already much greater than that of Britain: the fiſhery of New England alone amounts to 255,000 l. a year, which is equal to the amount of the Britiſh fiſhery. And yet New York and Philadelphia, with many other places to the northward, have large ſhares of this fiſhery; ſo that the whole muſt make a very great amount.

Without turning to more authorities, (although a multitude might be produced) for proving a point which ſeems ſo ſtrongly to prove itſelf, there will not be any danger, according to theſe ſeveral accounts, in determining the navigation *of the colonies* to employ 33,000 ſeamen; but leſt any objections unſeen ſhould ariſe, I ſhall call the number only 30,000. It may poſſibly be expected that I ſhould enlarge upon the vaſt conſequences of ſuch a number of ſeamen to a maritime power, and eſpecially after what one of the beſt of the North American writers has obſerved with a degree of rapture. "In another century the greateſt number of Engliſhmen will be on this ſide the water. What an acceſſion of power to the Britiſh empire, by *ſea* as well as by *land!*

land! What increaſe of trade and navigation! What numbers of ſhips and ſeamen! We have been here but little more than 100 years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war (1750) united, was greater both in men and guns than that of the whole Britiſh navy in queen Elizabeth's time." What therefore muſt they have been in the laſt war? But notwithſtanding all this, I am very far from placing to the account of Britain one jot of all theſe fine doings. And very clear I am, that the employment of the 12,000 ſeamen firſt mentioned, is of twenty times the conſequence to this country of all the 30,000 kept by the colonies themſelves. The more this ſubject is enquired into, the more evidently and clearly will it appear, that the production of ſtaple commodities is the *only* buſineſs proper for colonies: whatever elſe they go upon, it is abſolutely impoſſible that they ſhould by any employment whatever make up for the want of the one really neceſſary. For want of this capital foundation of a colony, our northern ſettlements, we have found, are full of farmers, manufacturers, merchants, fiſhermen, ſeamen;—but no planters. This is preciſely the caſe with Britain herſelf; conſequently

a rivalry between them muſt inevitably take place. This in the article of the fiſheries we find fully taken place; for the northern colonies have nearly beaten us out of the Newfoundland fiſheries, that great nurſery of ſeamen! inſomuch that the ſhare of New England alone exceeds that of Britain. Can any one think from hence, that the *trade* and *navigation* of our colonies are worth one groat to this nation?

There is not one branch of commerce carried on by theſe trading ſettlements but might juſt as well be in the hands of the inhabitants of this kingdom, the ſupplying the ſugar iſlands with lumber alone excepted, and that we have already ſeen is a trifle. Thus the trading part of the colonies rob this nation of the invaluable treaſure of 30,000 ſeamen, and all the profits of their employment; or in other words, the northern colonies, who contribute nothing either to our riches or our power, deprive us of more than twice the amount of all the navigation we enjoy in conſequence of the ſugar iſlands, the ſouthern, continental, and tobacco ſettlements! The freight of the ſtaples of thoſe ſetts of colonies bring us in upwards of a million ſterling; that is, the navigation of 12,000 ſeamen: accord-

ing to which proportion we loſe by the rivalry of the northern colonies in this ſingle article TWO MILLIONS AND AN HALF ſterling! The hackneyed argument which has been copied from writer to writer, that let the colonies get what they will, it all centers in Britain, will doubtleſs here be extended; and they will ſay, if the northern colonies get ſo much money, that money to them is the ſame as ſtaples to the ſouthern ones, and equally laid out in merchandize with Britain. But facts prove the very contrary: the conſumption of Britiſh commodities in them I have ſhewed cannot be more than to the amount of 108,000l. They export thither in ſtaples to the amount of 98,000 l. now one of the warmeſt advocates above quoted aſſerts the fiſheries of New England *alone* to be 255,000 l. according to this reaſoning, they would purchaſe of us only for theſe two articles to the amount of 353,000, which being more than three times over falſe, ſufficiently proves that they may acquire riches without expending them with Britain.

No one, who has enquired the leaſt into the ſtate of the colonies, can be ignorant that theſe northern commercial ones carry on a very conſiderable illicit trade. A late writer

writer ſays it amounted to a third of their actual imports. Now under the title of their imports is included *all* they receive from Britain and the Weſt Indies, or in value to upwards of 917,000l. a vaſt ſum! and muſt in the nature of things be nearly ſo much taken out of the pockets of their mother country. Another writer lets us ſomewhat more into their illicit trade.—"The colonies to the northward (of the tobacco ones) have very little direct trade with Great Britain; I mean they have nothing with which they can repay us for the commodities they draw from hence: they only trade with England circuitouſly; either through the Weſt Indies, which is to us the moſt advantageous part of their trade, or through foreign European countries, which, however neceſſary, is a dangerous and ſuſpicious channel. Our Engliſh ſhips meet others with the ſame commodities at the ſame markets; and if theſe markets happen to be overſtocked, we interfere with and conſequently hurt each other. But what is ſtill more material, there is much reaſon to ſuſpect that no ſmall part of the benefit of our North American trade is by this means *loſt to the mother-country, and paſſes to foreigners, and ſome-*

times to enemies. Theſe northern provinces are in effect not ſubject to the act of navigation; becauſe they do not trade in any of the commodities enumerated in that act. They are therefore neither obliged directly to bring their goods to England, nor when they have carried them to other countries, are they neceſſitated to take England in their way home. Whereas all the colonies which produce any of the enumerated commodities, under whatever relaxations, are always ſubject to one or other of theſe regulations. For inſtance, ſhips from Boſton may carry fiſh, corn, and proviſions to France and Italy, and return again directly to Boſton, loaden with foreign commodities, ſubject to no other check, than what muſt be conſidered as none, that of a cuſtom-houſe officer in their own colony *. Theſe ſhips, however, carry out ſomething elſe beſides corn and fiſh; for the governor of Maſſachuſet's Bay, in 1733, writes word to the Lords of Trade, that *vaſt quantities* of hats are exported from thence to Spain and Portugal: thus they carry out their own to

* *Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negociation.*

cramp

cramp our market, and bring home French goods to *enlarge* that of *our enemies* *. The general turn of reaſoning through this paſſage is certainly juſt, though ſome particular ſums are probably erroneous. The conſumption of Britiſh manufactures in the northern colonies probably much exceeds 108,000l. but that they conſume all they import, is moſt certainly contrary to every article of good intelligence that can be gained in the whole affair.

That fiſheries and navigation are improper employments for colonies, and detrimental to the intereſts of the mother-country, appears clearly enough from hence; and I may add to theſe reaſons, that the practice of the French, whoſe fiſhery employs 20,000 ſeamen, while ours maintains only 4000, proves ſtrongly that *planted* ſettlements are by no means neceſſary for ſucceſs in fiſhing. When they had Louiſbourg, it was only a place of arms; a ſecurity to their fiſhery, and by no means a *colony*; and their fiſhery is now carried on in full perfection, without ſo much as that: thus no argument can be more falſe than that which pretends that our colonies have

* *Political Eſſays.*

not robbed Britain, but only created a new fiſhery from the advantageouſneſs of their ſituation. We ſee the fiſhery of Britain is declined greatly, which, with the increaſe of that of New England, proves the fact ſufficiently. We are told that of New England alone is greater than Britain's; ſuppoſe the ſeamen 5000; can any one imagine the employment of thoſe men, with all the trades they ſet to work, not to be of the higheſt value to this kingdom, and the country that has gained them ſo far rivals and enemies? What advantage do we reap from New England equal to this ſingle loſs?

The ſecond article which I was to conſider, is that of corn and proviſions, which are exported from all theſe northern colonies to the Weſt Indies and to Europe. How far theſe are to be conſidered as ſtaples, a ſhort enquiry will ſhew. As to all that are ſent to Europe, we may ſafely determine it to be as pernicious a trade as any the colonies can go into, ſince it is directly rivalling, and even deſtroying one of the moſt advantageous branches of the exports of Britain. American corn cannot come to an European market without doing miſchief to the corn trade of England.

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This trade is not like that of moſt other commodities, which are uſually exported in certain quantities, and to certain markets: on the contrary, it is extremely uncertain in its deſtination, the quantity in demand depends on the accidents of crops, ſometimes it is to one country, ſometimes to another, and the circulation of the trade greatly depending on the ſurplus quantity which certain countries poſſeſs. Poland, England, and Barbary may be called the exporting countries; the latter from the uncertainty of its governments rarely makes the moſt of the fertility of its ſoil, proving but a weak rival to England: this leaves all the ſouth of Europe open to the export of that country, and very advantageous the circumſtance has been, as we have more than once experienced, both to Portugal, Spain, the ſouth of France, and Naples. Let therefore any perſon judge of the propriety of introducing another rival into this trade, which is far more likely to drive us out of it, than all the others we can have in Europe. Wheat, for many years, ſold at 20s. a quarter in America, which was their exporting price, the freight to Marſeilles or Naples is 12s. more, the price therefore delivered has been 32s. a

quarter; a price at which we have never yet ſold in thoſe markets, even with the aſſiſtance of the bounty. If this does not ſhew the great impropriety, not to uſe a harſher expreſſion, of planting colonies in climates that will not produce ſtaple commodities, ſurely nothing can. It may be ſaid, perhaps, that importation from theſe colonies, even to Britain herſelf, may be an advantageous meaſure in dear years; but I cannot but conſider ſuch an idea as very fatal: it implies a dependence on America, which may grow into a neglect of our agriculture at home; than which a more fatal event can never happen. Britain ſhould never look forward to ſcarcities of corn; if ſhe does, ſhe will be ſure to find them. Let her, on the contrary, have no other idea but that of exporting, which will be the means of always keeping it cheap, as we have found for near a century.

There is another evil attending this exportation of American corn to Europe; it is the largeneſs of the market; while the North Americans were confined to the demand of the Weſt Indies, they could look no farther, and raiſe no more wheat than ſufficient for that demand; but having the European

European market to go to, increaſes this culture among them prodigiouſly: the conſequence of which is, to draw them off from the culture of ſtaples, and from thoſe other profeſſions which are more beneficial to the mother-country. If the demand for wheat was not large—and the farmers raiſing little more than ſufficient for their families, they have no encouragement to extend their culture—and the profit on the huſbandry is ſmall, in this ſituation many farmers had great inducements to move to the ſouthward, and turn planters; as many did. But when exportation finds a regular market for all they grow, in a country where land is ſo plentiful, it makes the common huſbandry as profitable as planting, and inſtead of farmers turning planters, planters turn farmers, than which nothing can be more fatal to the intereſts of Britain.

In the ſecond place, as to the ſupply of the Weſt Indies, the ſame objections do not lie; for as the iſlands find planting too profitable to allow them to attend to common huſbandry, there certainly can be no objection to the northern colonies anſwering the demand—any more than to their ſupplying them with lumber; but let

let me here make a remark, that I do not recollect ever hearing from any quarter, or reading in any of the numerous works that have been publiſhed on this ſubject. It is that Britain in good policy ought to have kept this ſupply entirely to herſelf, inſtead of the uncertain corn trade ſhe has had with Europe; for this, I think, many reaſons are to be given; the demand which there has been in Europe for Britiſh corn has never been regular; it has been on the contrary very uncertain; and even in years, when exportation has run very high, it has not been anſwerable to the ſurplus of our crop, as we may judge from the price at home continuing ſo low that the farmers could in ſeveral countries ſcarcely live. Now the ſupply of the Weſt Indies is the moſt beneficial market that is known in the world; for it is perfectly regular, and abſolutely to be depended upon. No where elſe are ſuch conſiderable bodies of people as the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, to be found, that depend for their daily bread on importation, that attempt to raiſe ſcarce any thing that they eat: Britain therefore might have depended abſolutely on this market; and the ſupply of it would have been more beneficial than the corn trade

ſhe

ſhe has at fits and ſtarts carried on in Europe: but the encouragement her agriculture would have received by this *regular* demand would have ſo animated it, that larger quantities of corn than ever would have been produced, and ſhe would have found no difficulty in ſupplying the European demand alſo. This might have been done with great eaſe, by only laying a duty in the iſlands upon the import of all corn, except from Britain and Ireland: I do not think this would have been a ſeverity to the iſlands, becauſe there are many ports for exporting corn from Britain, and many corn merchants in every port; ſo that there would never have been any reaſon to fear a plentiful ſupply, and at a fair price—and if the rate at which the corn came to them was judged too high, the ſame bounty on the export, or even a larger, if neceſſary, than what is given at preſent, would have remedied the inconvenience. As to the diſtance and freight, we are certain they would have been no material objection, from what we know to be the caſe at preſent, which is the ſupply the iſlands at preſent receive from England of beans, and from reland of beef. If beans will anſwer

ſwer ſuch a freight, moſt certainly wheat would.

Such a meaſure as this at preſent would be perhaps a dangerous one, becauſe all ſudden changes in matters of commerce are ever hazardous: but nothing would have been eaſier than to have eſtabliſhed it before the exports from the northern colonies were ſo large, while the trade was low, and the ſupply not conſiderable; the meaſure might have been brought about by degrees, and nothing is clearer to me than its proving infinitely advantageous to Britain. It would have given an annual certain export to her; it would have rendered common huſbandry ſo little profitable in North America, that the northern colonies, from whom we have ſo much to apprehend, would not probably have been one fourth ſo populous; inſtead of which we ſhould have had many more people than we have to the ſouth of Penſylvania, and conſequently larger products of true ſtaple commodities. It ſhould not be forgotten, that one man employed upon tobacco, is of far more worth to Britain than forty New England farmers. It appears therefore ſufficiently clear, that we may deter-

determine corn and proviſions to be very improper commodities for a colony to deal in, and by no means to be ranked with ſtaples.

Thus does it plainly appear, that a very ſtrong diſtinction is always to be made between the colonies north of Maryland, and thoſe to the ſouth, in their importance to the mother-country; a diſtinction which ſhould never be forgotten, as it will remain a leſſon to all ſucceeding ages in what climates to plant colonies. The writer I before quoted, juſtly remarks on this ſubject—" That the ſtaple productions of our colonies decreaſe in value, in proportion to their diſtance from the ſun. In the Weſt Indies, which are the hotteſt of all, they make to the amount of 8l. 12s. 1d. per head. In the ſouthern continental ones to the amount of 5l. 10s. In the central ones to the amount of 9s. 6d.½ In the northern ſettlements to that of 2s. 6d. This ſcale ſurely ſuggeſts a moſt important leſſon—to avoid colonizing in northern latitudes! Eighteen pounds the export of Nova Scotia after ſeveral years ſettlement, after the utmoſt attention from the government, after a million ſterling of the public money being expended upon it, is an exam-

example one would think ſufficient to deter the boldeſt projector! But if our colonies to the north produce ſuch trifling ſtaples, thoſe to the ſouth, on the contrary, are immenſely valuable;—indeed of ſuch infinite importance to this nation, that *general expreſſions* of the benefit of our ſettlements ſhould never be indulged; let proviſoes ever come of—*thoſe to the ſouth.* We have found in the preceding enquiries, that thoſe colonies which moſt abound with manufactures have the feweſt ſtaples; and this is a neceſſary conſequence, for nothing but ſuch products as bear a large price in Europe will yield a return from thence of the neceſſary manufactures, and much leſs of ſuperfluous ones. But if a colony is ſituated in a climate which denies ſuch productions, or from a want of due attention in the mother-country, they are not improved or ſuffered to decline, does it therefore follow that the inhabitants of ſuch province are to go without cloaths, furniture, and tools? By no means; whereever there are people, they will moſt aſſuredly enjoy thoſe neceſſaries; if they raiſe nothing from their ſoil which will purchaſe them in exchange, they will certainly make

make them themſelves. And if they are a populous flouriſhing people, they will find very little difficulty in the attempt. Indeed it is not, properly ſpeaking, an *attempt*, but the regular courſe of things; a concatenation of cauſes and effects, which take place imperceptibly. And in proportion as they grow more and more populous, their manufactures will increaſe beyond the proportion of the people, until they come to work for exportation. It is ever to be remarked, that a people *cannot* FULLY ſupply themſelves with any commodity without more than doing it—ſome exportation muſt take place, or the home conſumption will not be regularly ſatisfied. It likewiſe appears, contrary to the ideas of ſeveral modern writers, that it is very poſſible for cultivation alone to ſupply a people with *all* the neceſſaries of life without any aſſiſtance from *trade* or *manufactures*; and that under the diſadvantage of exporting the raw material, and importing the manufacture, by a long and expenſive voyage, under the ſubjection of duties, and conſequently under complicated charges. The inhabitants of the Weſt India iſlands and the ſouthern continental colonies wear not a rag

a rag of their own manufacturing; drive not a nail of their own forging; eat not out of a platter or a cup of their own making; nay, the former produce not even bread to eat; and if that was the caſe with all the reſt, provided Britain could regularly ſupply the deficiency (which under a certain ſyſtem of policy ſhe undoubtedly might), it would be ſo much the better for her;—ſo entirely do theſe colonies depend on the mother-country for all manufactures! and all from poſſeſſing beneficial ſtaples. Of ſuch vaſt conſequence is it to the country to plant new colonies, or extend our old ones, only in climates which will allow of ſuch capital advantages."

In this enquiry I have endeavoured to ſhew not only the importance of the American colonies to Britain, but at the ſame time to explain wherein that importance conſiſts; we find it lies in the climate of the colony being different from that of the mother-country, as therein conſiſts the only probability of the people going upon ſtaple commodities. The northern ſettlements might be made of much more advantage than they are at preſent; but it would

would be anticipating the ſubject to conſider that point here, as I ſhall in another eſſay endeavour more particularly to explain it.

CHAP. XXXV.

MANUFACTURES.

State of the colony manufactures—Difficulties under which they lie—Means of putting them down—Buy up the raw materials—Bounties—Finding other employments—New colonies—Obſervations.

MUCH has been written concerning the bad effects of the American coloniſts going into manufactures, but no ſatisfactory account has been given of the amount of ſuch fabrics, which has been owing to Parliament's never having ordered a return of them to be laid before them. Some late writers have urged ſtrongly the magnitude to which theſe manufactures have ariſen, but it has been from calculations founded on dubious authority. In this caſe the general idea of the neceſſity of *making* that we cannot *buy* would

be ſatisfactory, did we know the amount of their conſumption, and that of their means of ſatisfying it.

In conſidering this point, we are to drop the idea explained in the preceding chapter, of the ill conſequences to Britain which reſulted from their trade and fiſheries, and here merely take them as means of acquiring wealth, wherewith to purchaſe manufactures,

By manufactures are not to be underſtood the fabrics of private families, who work only for their own uſe, but thoſe only that are wrought for ſale, and which are the only or principal livelihood of the perſons concerned and employed in them. This is a diſtinction which our writers have not attended to ſufficiently; for tho' the population of a ſettlement that entirely ſupports itſelf is of little or no value to Britain, yet as it is paſſive, and no more than ſupports itſelf, it is much to be preferred to another branch of population, which is employed in cloathing, &c. itſelf and others too—that is, manufacturing for ſale. As to the firſt evil, no remedy in the world can be applied to it that will be effectual; nor is it an object which can ever

ever claim the attention of the mother-country.

It is from hence clear, that the object of enquiry is not the probable total conſumption of all the people in the colonies, but of thoſe only who do not work up their own manufactures: when the northern ſettlements are compared with the ſouthern ones—it is of conſequence to ſhew the great ſuperiority of the latter; but as that ſuperiority was fully ſhewn in the laſt chapter, it is not to the purpoſe here. The only conſumption to be conſidered is that of the ranks which *buy* in order to conſume. Their making the purchaſe, ſhews that they have wherewith to pay; and then comes in properly the pretenſions of the mother country, *if you buy, I expect you buy of me.*

Nothing is more difficult than to diſcover the amount of their manufactures for ſale: we are to conſider that there are other articles in their imports beſides manufactures, wine, rum, ſugar, India commodities, &c. all which amount to conſiderable ſums. The means by which they can purchaſe thoſe and manufactures are their exports, the produce of their lands—the produce of their fiſheries, and the pro-

fits of their commerce; the two firſt are pretty well known, but the latter, open and clandeſtine, is very great, and no gueſs can be given of its amount.

That the manufactures for ſale are not ſo great as ſome have imagined, may be conceived from the vaſt number of inhabitants, who in all probability work entirely for themſelves; in a country where the minute diviſion of landed property is ſo great as in the moſt populous of the northern colonies, and in a climate that will yield little valuable, it is impoſſible that the people ſhould be able to *purchaſe* manufactures: poor countrymen in England do it becauſe all their income is paid them in money, whatever may be their work; but in America day-labourers are rarely to be found, except in the neighbourhood of great towns; on the contrary, the man who in England would be a labourer, would there be a little freeholder, who probably raiſing for many years but little for ſale, is forced to work up his wool in his family, his leather, and his flax, after which, the reſt of his conſumption is ſcarce worth mentioning. The number of people in the northern colonies who come under this denomination is very great,

great, and conſequently the deductions to be made from the total conſumption very conſiderable: it is not a difficult matter to calculate how much a head would ſupply the total of a people with manufactures; this has been calculated; but it is extremely difficult to gueſs the amount of *purchaſed* manufactures, which is the only important point.

In this enquiry we ſhould not confine ourſelves to the northern colonies, but take into the account that part of the population of the tobacco ones which is not employed on tobacco; a conſiderable proportion of the total: as any perſon may judge who recollects that ſoon after the peace the number of people in Virginia and Maryland was calculated at 800,000, the export of tobacco therefore is not much above 20s. a head; inſtead of which, thoſe who are employed by that ſtaple are able, in all probability, to conſume 5, 6, or 8l. a head in imported commodities, and the reſt of the people ſcarcely any thing, as they muſt, like their brethren to the north, manufacture almoſt every thing they uſe. If the imported commodities in theſe colonies are aſſigned to 200,000 people, there will remain 600,000, whoſe purchaſed

conſumption is ſmall; and if the common calculation is taken, of their being at the peace 1,000,000 of people in the northern colonies, we then find 1,600,000 ſouls, among whom the imports are in ſome proportion or other to be divided. The exports from Great Baitain are as follow:

	£.
Canada, - - -	105,000
Nova Scotia, - - -	26,500
New England, - -	407,000
New York, - - -	531,000
Penſylvania, - - -	611,000
	1,680,500

If the population of theſe was 1,000,000, they imported about 32s. 6d. a head: if we allow 5l. a head for all that *purchaſed* their conſumption, the number this importation ſupplied is 336,000, at which rate (to ſpeak nothing of Weſt Indian and foreign imports) 664,000 perſons manufactured for themſelves, beſides the proportion of the tobacco ſettlements. Hence if theſe data are juſt, we may ſuppoſe one third of the people to conſume purchaſed commodities, and two thirds to manufacture for themſelves; but this ſuppoſes their own

own fabrics for ſale to be inconſiderable, and that 5l. a head is for only a partial conſumption.

There is yet another light in which this point is to be viewed, which is a different claſſing of the people; for the ſake of explaining the clearer what I mean, I will ſuppoſe a diviſion of the million of people in the northern colonies.

200,000 who. conſume of foreign manufactures, &c. only 2s. 6d. a head.
500,000 who conſume a head 40s.
300,000 who conſume 5l.

The firſt, - - -	25,000
The ſecond, - - -	1,000,000
The third, - - -	1,500,000
	2,525,000
Import from Britain, - -	1,680,500
According to this account, they muſt buy of foreigners, or work among themſelves for ſale, to the amount of	844,500

For in this idea the fabrics worked in private families have no place; if they were taken in, the pooreſt would conſume far more than 2s. 6d. There is nothing extravagant in this account; nor can it be ſuppoſed that the manufactures of the northern colonies amount to leſs than 844,500 l. In caſe the conſumption of the claſſes here ſtated is greater, then this a-

mount will of courſe be proportionably larger.

Suppoſing this ſum to be the fact, or near it—or if we call their manufactures for ſale a million, I do not think it an amount that ought greatly to alarm the mother-country, provided ſhe took proper meaſures to obviate their ill effects, which meaſures would be very eaſily planned and executed. It is to be remembered, that a very conſiderable portion of this ſum muſt be expended in fabrics, the whole of which Britain cannot expect to furniſh—and which in fact ſhe does not furniſh to any colony, for the laſt hand, to a variety of articles, cannot be put at London, but muſt neceſſarily be executed in America, and the labours of thoſe workmen and artizans is there blended with the price of the manufacture.

All that this kingdom can expect from the northern colonies, is to keep down public manufactories, which take the wool from the ſheeps back, and convert it into cloth; the flax from the ground, and make it into linen and lace; the ſkin off the beaſt, and turn it to finiſhed fabrics of leather; the iron from the ore, and convert it into the variety of utenſils which

which Sheffield and Birmingham exhibit; and the ſame in other inſtances: but this reaſoning muſt not be carried too far in any of theſe articles; there are objects which when completed from wool, leather, and iron, will ſtill be of ſuch ſmall value, that the very freight from Britain and carriage to the conſumer would be twice the worth, ſuch we may be ſure will be wrought in the colony. But when we ſee them making cloth of 12 s. a yard, linen of 5 s. hats of 16 s. each, locks, keys, and curious articles of hard-ware, which is the caſe, we may then be certain that the policy of this kingdom is deficient; and that without violence, ſuch manufactures might be put down.

We are to remember, that the coloniſts are under great difficulties in their attempts to raiſe manufactories for ſale. The mother-country has the power of introducing her own fabrics as cheap as ſhe pleaſes, and under whatever advantages of bounties or premiums ſhe likes to grant; which ſhe can do in her exportation of them to no other market. Every where elſe they meet with duties on importation, and perhaps prohibitions; but in America the manufactories of Britain are openly in every market

market without duty or clog. In the next place the price of labour is very great, greater take the year through than in Britain, which is a material article; this muſt neceſſarily be the caſe where land can be had for nothing; workmen may be gained for high wages, but thoſe high wages will preſently enable them to ſet up for planters in a country where twenty pounds is a fortune ſufficient to begin with; thus the maſter manufacturers can never keep the men after they have got them, which muſt lay them under almoſt inſuperable difficulties; or ſubject them to expences which will make their manufactures much dearer than thoſe of Britain.

The long winters and ſevere ſeaſon which ſtops moſt employments, have been urged as reaſons why they may manufacture largely for ſale: but I am not of this opinion; thoſe who are converſant in our fabrics well know, that in very ſharp froſts many of our manufactures are at a ſtand; what therefore would be at Boſton or New York, where the froſts are in common 20 degrees ſharper than the moſt ſevere we feel in England; and where the whole winter is froſt and ſnow: people can ſcarce keep their extremities from freezing who

who attend to nothing elſe, how therefore could the finer ſorts of manufactures be carried on? What ſort of work would a weaver make, whoſe fingers were numbed with cold; or a workman in ſteel, whoſe fleſh froze to his manufacture? In ſuch a climate manufactures muſt be carried on in mild or warm weather, and then the workmen may have what they will aſk in the field, and all the advantages here ſtated are at once given up. Under ſuch circumſtances no fabrics can be made cheap enough to under-ſell Britain, but ſuch as come extravagantly dear from her, and can be made reaſonable in America; or others ſo inferior in kind, that freight and carriage make a large proportion of the whole value.

But ſuppoſing the manufactures of theſe provinces, notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, did not get to any height, which in ſome articles is the caſe, then Britain might, without having recourſe to what governor Pownal hints at, exciſes, take meaſures that would bring them down. The eaſieſt and moſt adviſeable way would be to raiſe the price of their raw materials, by buying it up for the Britiſh market: the obvious way to bring about any ſuch tranſaction

action as that, is by giving bounties upon the import into Great Britain, and if they are large enough, they certainly will effect any thing. But the objection is, that, in order to create a new trade, the expence, by way of bounty, may be greater than if done by other methods: I would propoſe to force the import of wool from the colonies into Great Britain to ſuch a point, as would be ſufficient to burthen the woollen manufactures of America, by raiſing the price of their raw materials: at the ſame time that this laid a tax on the American fabrics, it would give a bounty on the Britiſh ones, by lowering the price of their raw materials by the import from the colonies.

The employment of factors, agents, or contractors would be leſs adviſeable far than giving a bounty, provided the latter would have the effect; but as the wool-dealers in the colonies muſt be thrown into a different channel, and as the merchants there muſt open new correſpondences, a bounty, in order to force ſuch a new buſineſs, muſt probably be a greater expence than if government did the buſineſs, at leaſt for a time, through the merchants; but when once the buſineſs was brought near

near a regular train, a ſmall bounty would have a greater effect than a large one at firſt.

Such a tranſaction would be very heavy upon the manufactures of the Americans; for under the diſadvantages which I before ſtated the coloniſts to lie, a riſe of price in their wool would have the ſame effect as laying an exciſe upon their manufactures, but which would be brought about without the heartburnings and diſputes inevitable with a new tax. The idea of importing wool from America is not a new one; Dr. Mitchel ſome years ago remarked—"The wool of the colonies is better than that of the Engliſh; it is of the ſame kind with the Spaniſh wool, or curled and frizzled like that, and might be rendered as fine by the ſame management. By the ſtep which the colonies have lately taken to raiſe all the ſheep they can, they will have plenty of wool. With this they have already made cloth worth 12 s. a yard, which is as good as any that is made of Engliſh wool. Some of their wool has been ſent to England, where it ſold for the price of the beſt. This may perhaps be looked upon as a loſs to England; but if ſhe would ſtudy to make a right and proper

per uſe of her colonies, this might be of more ſervice to her than any one thing they are capable of producing. If the Spaniards ſucceed in their attempts to manufacture their wool, England may want it from the colonies more than any other commodity, as it is well known there is not a ſingle piece of fine cloth made in England without Spaniſh wool." This obſervation came from a perſon perfectly well verſed in American affairs from a long reſidence there, and ſhews how expedient the conduct would be, with a view to the goodneſs of the wool, as well as the deſign with which I propoſe it to be done.

The ſame conduct might be purſued with ſome other raw materials, ſuch as ſkins, hemp, and flax, all which are valuable articles to be imported into Great Britain; ſome of them are ſo already, and if our demand was a little quickened, it would certainly be laying a difficulty upon the American manufacturers that work them. It is true, that in both theſe caſes the price would riſe upon ourſelves as well as them, but this I do not apprehend would be of a bad conſequence equal to the advantages on the other ſide of the queſtion; ſince there is no object in the policy of Britain

tain which is of near ſuch importance as putting down, or at leaſt preventing all increaſe in the manufactures of the colonies.

There is another method of effecting this great purpoſe, which in ſome reſpects would anſwer better, though worſe in others: it would be giving a bounty on the export of ſuch Britiſh manufactures *to America* as the coloniſts have made the greateſt progreſs in erecting—and this bounty ſhould be ſufficient to enable the merchant importer in America to under-ſell the manufacturer there: this would be a very ſimple operation, and might be made perfectly effectual; but it would have this needleſs expence, it would ſupply the Weſt Indies and the ſouthern continental colonies with the ſame fabrics as cheap as the northern colonies, which, though an effect of no ill conſequence in itſelf, would add to the expence without making an equal return for it: not however that it would be without any return, for thoſe Britiſh goods being ſo much cheaper in thoſe markets would extend the conſumption of them, and certainly increaſe the trade in them which is carried on in the Weſt Indies.

Whether

Whether this method or the firſt was choſen, would not be materiel, provided the thing was done: but that ſome method ſhould be taken to effect it cannot be doubted, ſince the grand intereſt of Britain in her colonies is defeated and perverted by their ſetting up manufactories for ſale, a ſtep which, in the natural courſe of it, if left to itſelf, muſt inevitably bring on their independence.

But here it will naturally be remarked, that to put down the manufactures of the colonies, and thereby throw people out of employment, would be a very iniquitous ſcheme, unleſs ſome proviſion was at the ſame time made in an increaſe of other employments; and certainly no perſon can diſpute the truth of this; but this part of the work would be very eaſy: among the true ſtaples of the northern colonies have been mentioned ſkins, drugs, ſhips, pitch, pot-aſh, timber, flax-ſeed, copper, and iron, all which articles, particularly timber, ſhips, pitch, and iron, may be had in any quantities, provided due encouragement was given to procure them. At the ſame time that meaſures were taken to leſſen their manufactures, we ought alſo to increaſe

increaſe the quantity of theſe ſtaples, not only to give employment to the people inſtead of manufacturing, but alſo to ſupply the country in general with as much or more wealth than they made by that employment. Among theſe articles none have oftener exerciſed the pens of ingenious men than that of naval ſtores, which we import from the Baltic at ſo large an expence, and pay for almoſt entirely with bullion: our northern ſettlements produce all ſorts of timber in as great or greater perfection and plenty than the eaſt country; this is a point acknowledged by all; maſts, boltſprits, plank, deals of all kinds, and ſome articles of timber much more valuable than what we import. Great objections uſed formerly to be made, for want of ſaw-mills being erected; but that is no longer the caſe, for there are many of them now upon almoſt all the rivers of America; ſo that every thing is done that could facilitate the ſupply, was the article of freight got over. *Gee*, in his *Navigation of Great Britain conſidered*, ſays, "Our plantations in America abound with vaſt quantities of timber, and the navigation from New England, Nova Scotia, or Newfoundland, is not more tedious, nor at a

greater diſtance from us, than the bottom of the Bothnic gulph, or Peterſburgh. But thoſe places having been long in trade, and having a conſtant demand from us for that commodity, they always have great ſtocks of timber ready ſquared, and boards lying ready to load a ſhip of five or ſix hundred tons in ten or twelve days; but hitherto we have never had ſtocks lying ready in our plantations, nor any encouragement for building large bulky ſhips, ſuch as are uſed by the Danes and Swedes, who ſail with a few hands and at a ſmall charge. What timber we have had hitherto come directly to England, has been rather put on board to fill up, when tobacco or other merchandize has not been to be had, and therefore no care has hitherto been taken to make it a regular trade." But this is not at preſent the caſe; for I am well informed that there are large ſtocks of timber lying in many of our plantations ready for the Weſt Indies, and proportioned to that demand, conſequently the quantity would of courſe increaſe, with any increaſe of demand, and no difficulties of that ſort would be found. But Mr. Gee is miſtaken in his aſſertion of the length of navigation; for this is ſeen in the freight: that

that from Riga to England is not above 25s. calculated at the rate per load at which it is paid for; whereas the freight from Nova Scotia is 40s. to 50s. This difference will, I believe, generally be found; and another circumſtance in favour of the Baltic, is the price of labour, which is not half what it is in our colonies; theſe are the only ſuperiorities of the eaſt country. But on the other hand, our American timber comes duty free, and even with a ſmall bounty, though an inſufficient one; the only object therefore to get over is the freight; and this can only be done by giving a bounty per ton on all ſhips belonging to Great Britain that bring timber or naval ſtores from the colonies. Let us ſuppoſe the freight per ton from the Baltic 1l. 5s. and that from Nova Scotia 3l. which we may venture to ſtate as an average, though 2l. 10s. or even 2l. may be ſometimes taken; in this caſe, a bounty of 2l. per ton would turn the ſcale of freight by 5s. which, with the duties on the Baltic timber, would at once change the courſe of all the timber and iron trade. By various accounts it has been found, that our import in iron is 27,500 tons at 12l. is 314,000l. and timber 200,000l. theſe two articles

amount therefore to more than half a million ſterling, not to ſpeak of increaſe in the other branches of their ſtaples. I before ſhewed, that the manufactures for ſale in the northern colonies probably amounted to more than 800,000l. a year; now we find that in theſe two articles of iron and timber they might earn of Britain alone above 500,000 l. which would enable her to take proper meaſures to ſink their manufactures to that amount, and at the ſame time leave them with as much wealth as they had before—no hardſhips would be found from it in the colonies, but the intereſt of this country would be prodigiouſly advanced; inſtead of paying half a million to the Baltic in caſh, we ſhould ſend to the ſame amount in manufactures to America, the difference of which is very great; and at the ſame time we ſhould effectually prevent the increaſe of manufacturing in America, which in future would prove of much more conſequence than can at firſt be imagined.

The expence to the public at which theſe beneficial effects might be brought about, would not be large. One hundred thouſand pounds a year would pay the bounty on 50,000 tons of ſhipping, that

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is, 100 ſail at 500 tons each. We may venture to aſſert, that this navigation would anſwer the purpoſe, if confined to that alone; and the expence of ſuch a ſum would bear no proportion to the immenſe advantages that muſt inevitably accrue from it to this country.

By the export of naval ſtores the colonies would find employment for that ſurplus of their population which has driven them to manufactures—by the import of Britiſh manufactures in conſequence, and the buying up of their raw materials, their own fabrics would be put down—the manufacturing intereſt of Britain would be moſt highly advanced, and the export of bullion to the Baltic would be ſtopped; all theſe advantages would ſurely be well worth the ſum they would coſt the public in the bounties, which would not be loſt to the nation or paid to foreigners, but diſtributed among her own people at home, to the invigoration of their induſtry. A late writer, after ſtarting ſome propoſals ſimilar to this, remarks, "Theſe ſentiments are founded in reaſon, and tend to render Great Britain independent of the effects of that prodigious commercial manufacturing ſpirit, which is now aroſe in all Europe.

There are many peculiar motives for importing wool from theſe colonies with the other articles already ſpecified. It would be a great aſſiſtance to our own woollen manufactures, and at the ſame time have the beſt effect we could wiſh upon that of the colonies. No *importations* are more beneficial than raw commodities, to be worked into manufactures; and no *exportations* ſo pernicious to a manufacturing country as that of ſuch raw commodities; for which reaſon Britain ſhould wiſh to import wool from theſe colonies; and were the ſyſtem of policy I am now ſketching thoroughly executed, ſuch importation might very eaſily be effected. Every particular of this ſyſtem is the link of a chain, and all equally connected; the more iron, timber, pot-aſh, and madder were imported, the more likewiſe you might have of wool, for the more would the colony woollen manufacture ſuffer, and conſequently the leſs would be their demand for that commodity, and then the additional demand from Britain, at a time when the Britiſh manufactures were poured into every market, would completely give her the command of all the American wool. This

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importation might be made to extend to a very large ſum annually.

"As to ſhips, ſome may perhaps think the benefit reſulting from them to the mother country more equivocal; but in a certain degree I ſhould apprehend the ſupply from the colonies highly advantageous. In many caſes it might be found advantageous to build men of war there. But leaving them out of the queſtion, let us conſider the repeated outcries and complaints that have been made in this kingdom for ſo many years, of the want of timber for ſhip building; and that ſuch complaints are not ill grounded, every body agree. Now would it not be a very prudent meaſure, to reſerve the timber in this iſland for the uſe of the navy alone, and depend on America for that for merchantmen? It is by no means advantageous to this country, whoſe agriculture is of ſuch immenſe importance, to have any land occupied by wood that is good enough to yield corn, and conſequently no more ſhould be raiſed than is neceſſary; and ſuppoſing it neceſſary to raiſe all that is requiſite for the royal navy, that is certainly the moſt; for there is no occaſion to extend it to all that is uſed in merchant ſhips. The latter had

better all be built in America. Nor would there be any neceſſity to loſe the manufacturing of the hemp with which ſuch ſhips were rigged, ſince we might import it raw from the new colonies, and re-export it to the northern colonies, manufactured into ſail cloth with as little expence as much of the hemp lies under, now uſed by New England, &c. If Britain builds annually 40,000 tons of ſhipping (I am only ſtating a ſuppoſition), this at 3l. 10s. per ton would alone amount to 140,000l. a year. Nor can I ſee why the northern colonies ſhould not build for all Europe. The building trade might eaſily be carried to the underſelling all other countries, and eſpecially when the culture of hemp and the working the iron mines are carried to perfection; for then there is no country in the world that will unite all the requiſites for building cheap ſo completely as our colonies in North America; and that at the ſame time while all the benefit redounds to Britain alone, and without there being the leaſt danger to her from ſuch natural advantages in them. The danger would be great, if at the ſame time ſhe ſuffered them to be traders and fiſhermen; but I laid it down as a rule to proceed upon, that

that trade, fiſhing, and manufacturing were put an entire ſtop to among them. Now the trade of ſhip-building has not only the advantage of ſelling timber (a mere drug in America) to great advantage, but of obliging thoſe who bought it, at the ſame time to purchaſe ſome quantity of our hemp and iron. Thus if we built 100,000 tons of ſhipping annually for foreigners in our northern colonies, it would make up the former amount 500,000l. and I am very well perſuaded that this might be eaſily effected. Supplying other nations with ſhipping cheaper than they have it at preſent, would be no objection to this plan, ſince all the benefits they would reap therefrom are not comparable to thoſe which we ſhould receive from taking their money. Nor do I think in true politics it would be the leaſt adviſeable to refuſe French gold for men of war thus built: for we may lay it down as a maxim, that the French will never want as many or more men of war than they can man; experience ſhews this; ſo that our enemy will not meet us with a ſhip the more for our ſelling them. And moſt aſſuredly we had better take his money than let it be given either to the Swedes or the Genoeſe."

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The reader will here obſerve, that this point of employing the northern coloniſts upon ſtaples, or commodities which anſwer the ſame purpoſe, by way of enabling them to do without manufactures, would in the nature of things lower their fabrics, and take off all that eagerneſs for making a progreſs in them which has of late been ſo ſtrong among the Americans. Give them employments more advantageous than manufacturing (which all that I have named would prove), and they will, in the nature of things, apply at once to them with as much avidity as ever they did to manufactures; for in the courſe of affairs in the colonies, it can only be the *ſurplus* of population that can found manufactories for ſale.

And here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that this ſyſtem of deſtroying the fabrics of the colonies by buying up their raw materials, giving a bounty on the export of the Britiſh manufactures, and employing the coloniſts on ſtaples, might be vaſtly aſſiſted by the meaſures before explained of planting new colonies in better climates: this would draw off yet greater numbers than the above mentioned employment on iron, timber, ſhips, &c. The population that is to

to be commanded for manufactories can only be had when there is a ſurplus, which the lands do not take off. The northern ſettlements are very populous—the beſt lands taken up—new grants only to be had in ſpots which poſſeſs not the advantages which ſettlers neceſſarily are deſirous of: when ſuch difficulties increaſe, and at the ſame time the people vaſtly increaſed, it is the nature of things that the application to manufactures muſt increaſe proportionably; and the neceſſity of counteracting the ill effect every day muſt be more and more evident: that ſurplus of population ariſes merely for want of lands worth taking up, as the very term implies, for no ſuch thing can be found while land is ſo plentiful as to yield an immediate and beneficial maintenance to every family that applies for it: hence it is that manufactories are eſtabliſhed, and hence the propriety of finding new employments on ſtaples for the people, inſtead of manufactures; the ſame principles act in pointing out the neceſſity of ſuch new colonies. That every man without employment may meet with every poſſible inducement to ſettle as a planter rather than as a manufacturer: and while any ſuch exiſt, we may be certain what choice will

will be made; the country life in America has too much independency, too much plenty, and too many conveniencies not at all times to be embraced in preference to the buſineſs of manufacturing, which in every circumſtance is ſo much inferior.

When land is difficult to be had, or not good, owing to the extenſion of the ſettlements, or to the monopolies of the country, the poor muſt be driven to other employments than thoſe which depend on land; manufacturing, commerce, fiſheries, &c. muſt then thrive in the natural courſe of things, unleſs ſome ſuch meaſure as I have ſtated is put in practice in order to provide other employment. Such meaſures cannot be carried to the extent that is neceſſary with ſuch an increaſing people: the plan therefore to be adopted is certainly to prevent the future increaſe of the evil, by providing a motive for the freſh emigration of the people. Settling Canada, Nova Scotia, and Florida, is not providing any ſuch motive, as it has long been found that the people of the other colonies will not go to them; but colonies on the Ohio, Miſſiſſippi, and in the Illinois, would have this effect beyond any other meaſure in the world. The journey from New England,

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New York, Jerſey, Penſylvania, and Maryland is by means of the rivers in the back country, the Ohio, the Miſſiſſippi, and the lakes, as eaſy, cheap, and commodious, as can be wiſhed: ſo that the people in thoſe colonies who cannot get good land at home, may, at a very ſmall expence, provide as much as they can deſire in thoſe territories, which are in every reſpect as excellent, in point of ſoil and climate, as can be wiſhed. Water-carriage from the old colonies is abſolutely neceſſary to ſuch new ones as are deſigned to draw off the people from them. The inhabitants of America are ſo accuſtomed to do without expence, that they would conſider a long land carriage of their effects as an inſurmountable obſtacle to their removal; I mean the lower ranks of the people, whoſe emigration the ſyſtem of policy I have juſt been ſtating would moſt concern. But the paſſage to the tracts of country I have mentioned, is as commodious, eſpecially by the Ohio, as they can wiſh, and would not fail to draw off a very great number of the people.

Here I have traced that ſyſtem, the ſeveral parts of which could hardly fail of having the effects I have mentioned. In the

the firſt place, buying up their wool and other raw materials would lay a tax on their maſter manufacturers, at the ſame time that it would be an advantage to thoſe of Britain. Secondly, giving a bounty upon the import in America, of ſuch Britiſh manufactures as the Americans had made the greateſt progreſs in ſetting up, would enable us to under-ſell them in all the towns in our colonies. Thirdly, buying up or giving a bounty on the tonnage of all ſhips that brought iron, timber, or naval ſtores from thence, would find employment for their people more beneficial than that of manufactures; which would not only prevent ſuch people as are now employed on them from falling into diſtreſs, but would prevent others from engaging in them in future. Fourthly, planting new colonies in fertile and healthy countries would draw off that ſurplus of their population, which hashitherto thrown them into manufacturing; it would leſſen their preſent numbers conſiderably, and be a drain to their future increaſe.

Theſe ſeveral points of conduct aim at the ſame purpoſe;—a purpoſe too important to admit of any delay; which on the contrary requires ſpirited endeavours, and ſuch

ſuch variations in the view as ſhall attack the evil on every ſide. One or two of theſe meaſures might do much good, but all of them are neceſſary, if a complete cure is intended; and prevention meant in future as well as preſent eaſe. Manufactures in theſe colonies have been owing to the increaſe of the people being beyond the proportion of freſh land to take off the ſurplus of population; nothing can either put them down or prevent their increaſe, but drawing off many of the inhabitants, by tempting them with a better country and plenty of land, and finding more profitable employments than manufacturing for ſuch as ſtay at home. Theſe are the grand objects: well purſued they would prove effectual in putting down all their manufactories for ſale, and preventing new ones being erected; but if the work was not ſufficiently executed thereby, the bounty on ſimilar Britiſh fabrics would give the finiſhing ſtroke. The northern colonies under ſuch a ſyſtem of policy would no more have manufactares abounding among them of their own make, than the Weſt Indies or the ſouthern colonies, excepting what was the private work of families; an object

object not of much jealouſy to Britain, and even thoſe would be much leſſened by the ſame conduct. At the ſame time that this great and deſirable effect took place, the manufacturing intereſt of the mother-country would be amazingly advanced more than by any other meaſure that could be deviſed; for the export to America would be increaſed proportionably to the quantity made by the American manufactories for ſale, and the import of naval ſtores; ſo that inſtead of paying a vaſt ſum in bullion to the Baltic for thoſe commodities, they would be bought of the colonies with manufactures, a difference infinitely great. The trade and navigation of Britain would be greatly encouraged—and her American affairs would be thrown on a footing that would, if well purſued, be effectual in preventing thoſe many evils which cannot but ariſe from the eſtabliſhment of manufactures among the coloniſts. Such advantages are rarely to be gained without trouble or expence; but in this caſe both would be ſmall in compariſon with the benefit: the ſmall bounties already in being ſhew that our legiſlature think the thing extremely deſirable; but if they would effect

fect it, they muſt ſubmit to a larger expence, in order to ſecure a profit of far more conſideration than almoſt any expence.

CHAP. XXXVI.

INDEPENDANCY.

Great errors in the accounts given of the progreſs of population in America—Principles of increaſe — Dependancy connected with ſtaples—Surplus of population—Power of the colonies—Obſervations.

THIS is one of the moſt curious and intereſting diſquiſitions that can at any time demand the attention of this kingdom. The colonies we have planted in America have ariſen to ſuch a height of populouſneſs, power, and wealth, that an idea of their future independancy ſtarts into the mind of almoſt every man on the very mention of them in converſation: ſome aſſert the period near at hand, while others are willing to believe it yet at a diſtance; to enquire when it is to happen is not of importance; but to examine thoſe circum-

ſtances, whoſe tendency is either to accelerate or retard it, is an enquiry which is equally intereſting and uſeful, ſince from thence may be deduced the plan of conduct which it is proper this nation ſhould purſue, in order to ſecure a continuance of the advantages ſhe at preſent enjoys, by means of her ſettlements in America.

Virginia, from its firſt plantation, has doubled its number of people every twenty years: this fact, which is well authenticated by actual enumerations, has led many of our writers into a moſt capital miſtake concerning the progreſs of population in America: they have transferred it from Virginia to our colonies on the continent in general, than which a greater blunder could ſcarcely be made. Virginia is a ſettlement where the people are ſpread all over the country, quite to the mountains, among the hills, and even over them; and have been ſo for many years, owing to the uncommon inland navigation all the country enjoys; but in the colonies to the ſouth the people are confined to the unhealthy coaſt for the ſake of cultivating rice, the moſt unwholeſome employment under the ſun. Tobacco and wheat, which are the grand products of Virginia, will

not grow in ſwamps and marſhes; though the former requires a rich moiſt ſoil, yet it muſt be free from wet, and dry lands do for it, provided they are fertile; rich woodlands, for inſtance, where oak, hiccory, and locuſt trees are found: ſuch lands in America are ever healthy; and as to wheat, it may be laid down as a maxim, that wherever it thrives the climate and ſoil are ſalubrious to the human body. Another circumſtance is the climate of Virginia, which at ſome diſtance from the coaſt is as fine as any in America; it is the medium between the cold of the northern colonies, and the heat of the ſouthern ones, as its ſituation is between both. Further, Virginia is without towns, the people make ſuch advantage by their agriculture, that all are employed in it, conſequently all are on the increaſe: they have neither merchants, manufacturers, nor fiſhermen among them.

If the reader conſiders theſe circumſtances, he will find them extremely well adapted to increaſe the number of a people. The healthineſs of the climate—the goodneſs, and at the ſame time dryneſs of the ſoil—the eaſe with which every man finds employment on the ſoil—the profit

of agriculture exceeding that of any other profeſſion. Theſe are points which, when united with the plenty of land that moſt of our colonies enjoy, could not fail to occaſion a very rapid increaſe of the people.

That this increaſe is not to be extended in idea to the reſt of the colonies, will evidently appear from theſe circumſtances in them being very different: in the north the climate is ſo very ſevere, that it is impoſſible population ſhould thrive in the ſame degree as a more temperate one, for the neceſſaries of life muſt be had with more difficulty. In the ſouthern colonies, the heat is too exceſſive, in the low country on the coaſt, where the planters confine themſelves on account of rice, for the people to increaſe as they do in Virginia: in the northern colonies the ſoil is not comparable to what it is in the tobacco ones, conſequently proviſions cannot be had with equal eaſe. The ſame obſervation is applicable to the planted parts of the ſouthern ſettlements, and will continue ſo till the back country is cultivated. In the northern colonies agriculture, is far from being attended with that profit which reſults from the culture of ſtaple commodities; the conſequence of which is, a large pro-

proportion of the people applying to other profeſſions, which are far from having that tendency to increaſe, which is found in claſſes maintained by the ſoil: thus the people gather into towns, populous cities are met with, the bane of increaſe, trade, manufactures, and fiſheries flouriſh: and although ſuch may be thought to increaſe the people, it is a great miſtake; thoſe employments only find buſineſs for the ſurplus of agriculture; where is a town full of thoſe profeſſions, in the moſt healthy climate, that doubles its number from its own increaſe in twenty years? Yet is this done in Virginia: on the contrary, all great towns would be preſently depopulated, if they were not ſupplied by the country. Another circumſtance is the conſiderable tracts of country in the northern ſettlements that are fully peopled, and where land is as dear as in the cultivated parts of Great Britain. In ſuch there cannot be that increaſe which is found in Virginia, where the people are ſpread ſo much more over the country.

It is here neceſſary to attend particularly to the progreſs of population in a newly planted country, in order to ſee from what principles the increaſe of the people ariſes,

and what are the circumſtances that draw them from the profeſſions which depend on agriculture. The great increaſe found in Virginia has been owing to the plenty of good land in a climate that will allow of the culture of a ſtaple. A man there who fixes upon a plantation, breeds his family of courſe to a knowledge of agriculture; the ſons marry early, becauſe they no ſooner form a connection with the daughters of a neighbouring planter, than they think of marrying: it is the ſame in England, but what puts it aſide is the difficulty of ſupporting a family; the young couple, as much as they may wiſh it, are obliged by prudence and their parents to wait till they can be ſettled advantageouſly, which often is till the chance of a numerous family is half cut off. In Virginia, and thoſe parts of the other colonies circumſtanced in the ſame manner, the connection is no ſooner formed than the marriage enſues. The man takes up a grant of land, his father gives him a little ſtock, and aſſiſts him in building a houſe: money is wanting for but very few things, and a ſmall ſum all that is neceſſary; the buſineſs is then done, and the future ſucceſs of the family undoubted. Such a ſtate of the caſe not only brings

brings on marriages early, but alſo early courtſhips; for in thickly peopled countries men are retarded in their ideas of connecting themſelves, for fear of that poverty they are always in danger of: an unmarried young man in parts of the colonies is a prodigy.

Here therefore we deduce the firſt principle, which is plenty of land to be had for aſking, and under the payment only of ſome ſlight fees: the ſecond is, that land being good, and well ſituated; if it is not good, too much expence and difficulty will attend the cultivation of it; for if ſubſiſtence for a family be not eaſily and ſpeedily to be gained, with ſome ſurplus, by the ſale of which other neceſſaries may be purchaſed; more money muſt be had in readineſs before a plantation is undertaken; and if the ſituation is not within a due diſtance of water-carriage, it will be in vain to raiſe products for ſale, as they cannot be ſold.

From hence we find there muſt be a difference in the progreſs of the population of different provinces proportioned to theſe circumſtances; the land in Virginia is much better than in the northern colonies, and it is in general far nearer to navigation; theſe are points of ſuperiority which can-

not fail of rendering the increaſe much quicker in the former than in the latter.

The third obſervation to be made here is concerning the climate; the ſoil muſt not only be good, but the climate muſt be warm enough to yield products that are of a value ſufficient to make agriculture more profitable than either manufactures, commerce, or fiſheries. In Virginia the culture of tobacco is much more beneficial than any other employment; the crop yields a certain and ready value, by means of which they are able to purchaſe ſuch manufactures and neceſſaries as their lands will not produce, and at the ſame time afford a good profit to the planter; ſo circumſtanced they have no inducement to change their way of life—their ſons have no other buſineſs before their eyes, by which they can better themſelves even in idea. But all this is different in the northern colonies; agriculture there is nothing more than the culture of proviſions, which, though when prices are high, and a market ready, is very profitable, yet is it not that regular profit which attends a ſtaple; this want of a regular market for commodities rarely to be ſent to Europe, renders other means of getting money neceſſary, ſuch

ſuch as commerce, fiſhing, and manufactures; and when once theſe are but partly eſtabliſhed, they muſt neceſſarily draw off many people from the culture of the earth. The ſucceſs which attends ſome of theſe—and the inclinations of individuals, which, *when there is a choice*, will neceſſarily operate with many, by degrees lead more and more into purſuits entirely different from agriculture; circumſtances owing originally almoſt entirely to a want of ſtaple products. When once there is a population formed independent of agriculture, the people are divided; one part increaſe proportionably to the circumſtances above deſcribed, but the other have no increaſe, or probably require the ſupport of the country to keep up their numbers.

We find therefore that the firſt requiſite is plenty of land in a healthy climate; the ſecond, fertility and a convenient ſituation; and the third, the climate's yielding a ſtaple product: if we examine the reſt of the colonies with Virginia, we ſhall find them inferior to it. The plenty of land in the northern colonies is not comparable to that in Virginia, unleſs it be in places either not fertile, or in inconvenient ſituations; the navigation of Virginia is infinitely ſuperior

perior to that of any other colony: New England has very little inland navigation; and in point of fertility, the ſoil in the tobacco provinces much exceeds that of any of the reſt. Reſpecting the product of ſtaples, the northern colonies have none, and therefore have been driven to every profeſſion as well as agriculture. And in the ſouthern ones, where there are both ſtaples and good land, the rice culture has fixed the principal part of the people on the coaſt, where the climate is ſo unhealthy, that, inſtead of breeding people, it is formed for deſtroying them.

From theſe conſiderations it is very evident, that the increaſe of people in Virginia muſt be far greater than in the reſt of the colonies, and conſequently, that thoſe writers who have ſuppoſed the whole of our ſettlements to increaſe in people as quick as that colony, muſt have erred very conſiderably in their calculations.

This is a material point: it is a very good thing for Britain, that the colonies which have not ſtaples do not increaſe ſo quick, for if they did, their manufactures, &c. would increaſe proportionably; but that increaſe in other colonies brings on a correſponding increaſe of the ſtaple products,

ducts, and alſo a proportionable conſumption of Britiſh manufactures.

The independency of the colenies, whenever it may happen, muſt turn on this point, *the increaſe of people in thoſe ſettlements which have not ſtaples.* The increaſe in thoſe which have ſtaples, muſt always be for the advantage of the mother-country. It is therefore of conſequence to know the truth of ſo important a matter: the northern colonies are moſt populous, but it does not therefore follow that their preſent increaſe is equal to that of Virginia.

Dr. Mitchel ſays, the number of people in the tobacco colonies ſoon after the peace was 800,000; in the northern colonies near 1,500,000; and in all the colonies 3,000,000; the total I do not apprehend at that time to be ſo great. The melancholy circumſtance in this account, is the number in thoſe ſettlements which produce no ſtaples. If the total, as ſome authors aſſert, be 2,000,000 at the peace, the number in the northern colonies could not be above 1,000,000 or 1,100,000.

It is no difficult matter to explain how the danger of America's becoming independent does not lie in mere population, but

but in the territories where that population is found. A people ſpread over a vaſt extent of fertile country, and employed in raiſing ſtaples ſo valuable as to pay well for the freight to Europe and diſtant countries —the raiſing which is attended with more profit than any other employment—ſuch a people, it is very evident, can find little or no inducement to oppoſe the deſigns of the mother-country. The latter finds a ready and certain market for all the ſtaples of the former, and ſells in return every article of manufacture or other commodities that can be wanted, at the ſame fair price ſhe fixes on them in all other markets: at the ſame time that this friendly and mutually beneficial intercourſe ſubſiſts between them, the mother-country is at all times ready and able to protect the colony againſt all enemies and invaders. In ſuch a ſituation it is evident that both parties muſt remain ſatisfied with each other, until one of them is guilty of ſome great indiſcretion or falſe politics; and we may venture to aſſert, that ſuch falſe ſteps, in all probability, will come from the mother-country, that is, from the active and ſuperior party. This is the true deſcription of a colony founded upon juſt principles,

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and the great object to be attended to is the people's employing themſelves in a buſineſs wherein they cannot interfere with Britain.

Now if we turn our eyes to the northern colonies, we ſhall find that the caſe is extremely different. As the climate will not produce ſtaples of value enough to purchaſe manufactures, &c. the inhabitants are neceſſitated to apply to other profeſſions; theſe are commerce, fiſheries, and manufactures; the moment they get into this train, they engage in a rivalſhip with the mother-country; both are in the ſame purſuits; they meet each other in the ſame markets, and with the ſame commodities; when once the mother-country *feels* the effect of ſuch a competition, jealouſies, heart-burnings, reſtraints, oppoſition, and a number of effects of rivalry ariſe, and are the fore-runners of that independency of which we are treating at preſent.

It is not that the northern colonies are without a conſiderable and a profitable agriculture; the diſtinguiſhing circumſtance is the product of the agriculture. In the tobacco colonies, &c. the ſtaple is a commodity that is wanted in Europe, and yields a good price, conſequently the planters

planters can ſell to the Britiſh merchants a product that regularly ſupplies them with a return of Britiſh manufactures. But the agriculture of the northern provinces, that is, of all the ſettlements north of the tobacco colonies yields only corn and proviſions; valuable articles, it is true, but not ſufficiently ſo to bear the freight to Europe, except in years when they are very cheap in America, and very dear in Europe: conſequently the ſale of them to the merchants of Britain muſt, in the nature of things, be a mere uncertainty, a contingency depending on accident: whereas the ſale which is to pay for the import of manufactures muſt be regular, and abſolutely to be depended upon.

Now the want of ſuch ſtaple products muſt have the conſequence of obliging the inhabitants of ſuch colonies to make thoſe fabrics they cannot buy, or elſe to apply to ſuch buſineſſes as may have the effect which the agriculture of other colonies produces.

But, ſay ſome, why cannot theſe ſettlements apply to manufactures, commerce, and fiſheries, without ſuch an application bringing on their independency?—Becauſe thoſe employments, by whatever people they

they are carried on, occaſion wealth, military power, and that ſurplus of population from which armies may, on any occaſion be raiſed. When the general buſineſs of a colony is the ſame as that of the mother-country to the degree of rivalſhip, diſputes and quarrels muſt ariſe; and when theſe become inflamed by a continuation of the ſame diſputes, the poſſeſſion of a great body of ſeamen, many ſhips, with every ſort of naval ſtores, arms, and ammunition for the equipment of fleets, armies, and their attendants, with a great ſurplus of population for the recruit of both; manufactures in number ſufficient to take off a dependence on others, and commerce for a general ſupply; when this is the caſe, it muſt ſurely be apparent, at firſt ſight, that colonies in ſuch a ſituation poſſeſs the principal means of becoming independent; in ſuch a ſituation they will have little compunction at diſputes with their ſuperior, and every day feel leſs and leſs dread at any open hoſtilities.

The difference is extremely great between ſuch and others that are in a different predicament; among whom we find no ſurplus of population, no ſhips, no ſeamen, no magazines of naval ſtores, nor any

any great cities, to plan, direct, and head the diſcontents that may ariſe from the cauſes I have juſt ſet forth. While the natural tendency of the ſoil, climate, productions, and navigation is to ſpread the people over a whole country, their increaſe does not make them powerful; add millions to Virginia, and ſpread over the Ohio, Ilionois, and Miſſiſſippi, they will be no more powerful with four millions than with one, becauſe, as long as freſh land is plentiful, there will be no ſurplus of population to gather into towns; without the ſame ſurplus there can be no manufacture, nor any poſſibility of raiſing armies or navies. A colony not a fourth ſo populous, but poſſeſſing a ſurplus of population apparent in its cities, and conſequent employments independent of agriculture, would be far more dangerous to Britain. Hence we find how ill judged a conduct that was in the Britiſh government, which lead it to attempt to force a capital in Virginia: every means were uſed to lead the people to flock into Williamſburg, and magnificent edifices erected to adorn it; miſerable want of foreſight! Inſtead of which, had great reſtrictions been laid on towns increaſing, in the infancy

infancy of Boſton, New York, and Philadelphia, this country would at preſent have been in the poſſeſſion of perhaps 20,000 ſeamen more than ſhe now enjoys; and all the trade depending on them. A modern author obſerves, "The navigation than of our American colonies has been more once exerted in actual feats of power, in carrying on a war—againſt the enemies of Britain indeed; but the ſame power might be exerted againſt her, and in the caſe of a revolt moſt certainly would." "We have been here, ſays an American writer, but little more than one hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war (that of 1744) united was greater, both in men and guns, than that of the whole Britiſh navy in queen Elizabeth's reign." What therefore muſt it have been in the late war! Beſides ſuch a formidable naval force, they have raiſed, paid, and armed great armies. During the late war they kept an army of above 30,000 men on foot. They have founderies of cannon, magazines of war, arſenals, forts, and fortifications, and even victorious generals amongſt their own troops. They have a ſtanding militia; and conſtantly have the means of raiſing and arming a formidable body of

forces. Let it not be imagined that I am drawing a compariſon between the power of Britain and her colonies; far from it; I am only touching upon a few concurrent circumſtances, which add to the grand ones of an independent agriculture and manufactures. Suppoſing that the latter are of capital importance to a people about to throw off the dominion of another, the former are likewiſe of vaſt conſequence to the attempts, and would render the execution much eaſier than it could be without them: and how much likewiſe would depend on the ſituation of Britain at the time! For inſtance, whether ſhe was in the midſt of a ſucceſsful or an unſucceſsful war;—in the midſt of a ſecure peace or a doubtful conteſt. A certain concatenation of events might give the colonies an opportunity of not only ſtriking the blow, but preventing all future hopes in the mother-country of reverſing it. The effect of external circumſtances therefore muſt be great."

Seeing the principles upon which the danger of this independency lies, we may, without great difficulty, examine and point out the means of preventing it as long as poſſible: we have found that the ſituation which

which moſt threatens it is the populouſneſs of thoſe colonies which have no ſtaples: hence therefore all thoſe meaſures I before pointed out as a remedy againſt the manufactures of America are equally applicable to the preſent caſe; ſince in their operation they cannot leſſen the fabrics of the northern colonies without either leſſening the number of their people, or in giving them employments which ſhall have the effect of ſtaples. In proportion as theſe objects were effected, the greater would be the difficulty of their becoming independent; and in that chain of conduct no link is more important than the eſtabliſhment of new colonies in ſuch a climate as will yield ſtaples, and in ſituations which will admit an eaſy emigration from the northern ſettlements to them. Such new colonies, among which that of the Ohio will be foremoſt, would have the effect of drawing off that ſurplus of population which in a country moſt of which is cultivated, applies to manufactures, commerce, or fiſheries; and as long as ſuch ſurplus could be made to flow in this new channel, we ſhould be in no greater danger of the independency of America than we are at preſent, and perhaps not in ſo much.

I have ſhewn, that the general increaſe of people in the colonies is not near what

the generality of writers make it: inſtead of doubling all their numbers in 25 years, their preſent number will not probably be doubled in 50 years; and then the next doubling may take 120 years, and ſo on; a conſideration too much overlooked by all authors that have treated of American affairs. But granting the increaſe to be quicker than I have ſtated it, yet it is not the numbers, as I before obſerved, but the ſurplus of agriculture that we are to fear.

Suppoſe the total fifteen millions, but ſpread over the continent ſo much, that the manufactures, commerce, and fiſheries were no greater than at preſent—in that caſe I aſſert, that we ſhould be in no greater danger of their independence than we are at preſent. But on the contrary, if their numbers had filled all that part of the continent which will yield ſtaples, ſo that freſh land for a ſmall expence could no longer be had for new ſettlers, then of courſe that ſurplus of population which uſed to be taken off continually by new cultivation, muſt neceſſarily have recourſe to other employments; then cities ariſe, commerce and manufactures flouriſh, the arts are introduced, and a mother-country eſtabliſhed inſtead of remaining a colony.

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Here we may make an obſervation, which, though at firſt ſight it may appear greatly diſtant, yet deſerves attention; whenever population has advanced to ſuch a degree in our colonies: it is, that we muſt then, at all events, make the acquiſition of Louiſiana, on the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, to ſupply that neceſſary quantity of freſh land which will be wanting to prevent the ſurplus of population applying to any other profeſſion than agriculture: if the preceding principles are admitted, and they can hardly be rejected, then this obſervation will not have the appearance of wildneſs. The author above quoted gives an idea of Britiſh policy ſimilar to this: he remarks, "That ſhe ſhould abide by the boundaries fixed already to the old colonies, that of the rivers' heads; and all further ſettling to be in *new colonies* wherever they were traced. —That ſhe ſhould keep the inland navigation of the continent, that is, of all the great lakes and navigable rivers to herſelf, and not ſuffer any ſets of men to navigate them, and thereby communicate from one part of the continent to another.—That ſhe ſhould never ſuffer any provincial troops or militia to be raiſed, but reſerve entirely to herſelf the defence of the frontiers.—That

ſhe ſhould throw whatever obſtacles ſhe could upon all plans of communication from colony to colony, or conveniencies from place to place.—That in proportion as any colony declined in ſtaples, and threatened not to be able to produce a ſufficiency of them, the inhabitants ſhould receive ſuch encouragement to leave it, as more than to drain its natural increaſe, unleſs new ſtaples were diſcovered for it.—A people, circumſtanced as the North Americans would be, if ſuch a ſyſtem was fully and completely executed, could not poſſibly even *think* of withdrawing themſelves from the dominion of Britain until their ſtaples failed them, and they were drove, in ſpite of all laws and prohibitions, to herd together in towns for the purpoſes of manufacturing thoſe neceſſaries which their ſtaples would not pay for. No matter what their numbers might be, they would remain ſubject to the mother-country as long as ſhe could ſupply them with ſtaples, and that principally would depend upon providing their increaſe with freſh land. It is true ſhe would find an end of her territory at laſt, and then the natural courſe of things would form towns and manufactures of that increaſe, which ſhe before took off by means of plenty of land.

land. A connection would then ariſe between town and town and colony and colony; *numbers* would feel that ſtrength which reſults from *connection* alone, and the influence of the mother-country would be too weak to oppoſe the conſequences."

If a contrary conduct in Britain ſhould be purſued, which it muſt be owned is but too likely, the independency of America may happen in no diſtant period; for as ſuch progreſs has been made in the northern colonies towards general manufactures, and the poſſeſſion of great fiſheries and an extenſive commerce, the effect will every day be an increaſe of thoſe employments proportioned to the ſurplus of population in the ſettlements; and this increaſe muſt neceſſarily bring on a degree of power, which will enable them, on the firſt fair opportunity, to throw off their obedience to the Britiſh government. Or affairs may gradually go on in ſuch a train, as will bring on he ſame independency by ſlow degrees, and at laſt reſt in the completion of it without any acts of violence againſt Britain—by riſing into too powerful a people for the mother-country to think of controuling.

CHAP. XXXVII.

REPRESENTATION.

Of a union between Great Britain and her colonies—Objections which have been made—Anſwers—Difficulties—Obſervations.

THAT different parts of the ſame empire ought to be united as cloſely as poſſible by all the ties of political intereſt, is a maxim, which as it has never been denied, ſo one might imagine it would never be neceſſary to prove the caſes in which it ought particularly to be applied. But in this of our American colonies ſuch difficulties have been ſtarted, and ſuch objections have been made that have made many perſons to think truth no longer truth—or that a ſtrong exception is here found to a maxim otherwiſe infallible.

Mr. Pownal, who reſided long in America, and was ſuppoſed to be well acquainted with American affairs, ſtarted the plan of an union in a more direct manner than any other writer of credit had done before, ſhewing that an American repreſentation might

might take place without very great difficulties: and the late Mr. Grenville went pretty much into the ſame idea when he planned the ſtamp act, but from that blundering execution which was ſeen in all his ſchemes, he totally defeated the plan by beginning at the wrong end.

A very able and lively author, in the *Obſervations on a late State of the Nation*, took Mr. Grenville's ſcheme to pieces, and ridiculed it with great ſeverity. His objections turn chiefly, if not entirely upon the diſtance of America, and the uncertainty of that navigation, from length of voyage, ſhipwrecks, and war, which muſt bring the American repreſentatives to Great Britain: in all which he diſplays much wit and great ridicule. But I am one of thoſe who do not think that wit is reaſon, or that he who gets the laugh muſt infallibly be on the right ſide; ſince this would be nothing more than ſaying, that a man's conduct is always right in proportion to the wit with which he can defend it. We are not therefore to ſee nothing but impoſſibilities in a matter which at moſt abounds with only difficulties; and a reſolution to conquer difficulties ought always to be taken

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in proportion to the benefits which will reſult from the victory.

The difficulty of the diſtance, I think, may be got over by ſeveral means, ſuppoſe the members from America, who may be there choſen either by the freeholders of the provinces, or by the preſent repreſentatives in the provincial aſſemblies, ſhould always be elected for an uncertain duration; that is, the member reſident at London ſhould continue the ſitting member either till another landed who was to ſucceed him, or till his own re-election was noticed. I think this plan would at once anſwer many of the objections which the above mentioned ingenious gentleman has ſtarted. Nor do I ſee to what material ones the plan is open: if it is ſaid that the member in England cannot ſupport his intereſt in caſe of new elections in America, I reply, neither can the member of our own parliament, in caſe he is abroad, which often happens, and yet we ſee his friends exerting themſelves near as effectually: but granting the fact, of what conſequence is it to either Britain or America, whether Mr. George or Mr. Thomas be the member? As long as there muſt be a ſitting one, the neceſſity

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is fully anſwered by either; and if ſome individual happens to be of ſingular merit or popularity, he will of courſe be re-elected. This uncertain duration of a member's ſitting may appear ſtrange at firſt ſight, but upon a little reflection there will be found nothing objectable in it, as the term will be fixed by no miniſterial artifice, nor by the artifice of any other man: if a member is not re-elected, it will of courſe be the buſineſs of his ſucceſſor to take his ſeat as ſoon as he can; and if on the way he ſhould be taken by the Spaniards, and carried to Lima, it will be a diſagreeable adventure to him, but public buſineſs will ſuffer nothing by it.

But there is another circumſtance which anſwers a great part of the objections which have been made to American repreſentation: Engliſh counties elect Scotch members—Scotch towns elect Engliſh members—and both of them Iriſh ones; why not upon the ſame principles elect Britiſh members for America? They will be equally eligible. At preſent the provinces appoint agents, and give them ſalaries; why not elect the ſame men into parliament; their ſeat will render a ſalary unneceſſary, and they will be much more able to advance the

the buſineſs, and defend the intereſt of their conſtituents: it would be at the option of the electors of America either to chuſe ſome perſon among themſelves, or elſe upon the ſame principles as they make choice of their agents, to chuſe ſome perſon of reputation or knowledge in Britain. There does not appear to be any inſuperable objections to any part of ſuch a buſineſs.

As to the arrangement of the electors in America, it would have no more difficulties in it than that of the ſame thing in Scotland:—it would only be neceſſary to take care that the increaſing population of that vaſt country ſhould be repreſented, which would be well enough ſecured by decreeing all freeholders, whoſe freeholds were above the value of ten pounds ſterling—ſhould have a vote, both ſuch as were in being at the time of the union, and alſo ſuch as ſhould be gained or erected afterwards. And if the repreſentation of towns was entirely dropped, it would be ſo much the better, and be taking a proper hint from the experience of electors in England.

Objections have likewiſe been raiſed upon the ſcore of difficulties in conteſted elections, from the tediouſneſs and expence of trials at the bar of the houſe, when witneſſes

neſſes are to be brought, and all their attendants, acroſs the Atlantic ocean: but as well might we object to the repreſentation of the Highlands of Scotland, becauſe ſuch evils were infinitely greater than with Middleſex:—there are boroughs in Scotland from whence it is near as difficult and expenſive to get a tribe of people to London on ſuch a buſineſs, as it would be from parts of America. If objections againſt extending legiſlation throughout the empire are ſtated merely from the extent of the empire, it is ſo weak a plea, that one might almoſt reply to it by ſaying, you ſhould get rid of what you cannot govern. You can ſend governors, deputies, ſurveyors, marſhals, regiſters, and placemen of every denomination to America; it is a pretty joke to imagine they cannot as well return us repreſentatives.

Concerning the general expediency of this meaſure, I recollect nothing material that has been urged againſt it. On the contrary, very many reaſons have been offered to ſhew that it is not only proper but neceſſary. It ſhould be conſidered, that the danger of the American colonies throwing off what is commonly called the yoke of their mother-country, turns principally upon

upon points of government in which the one party is ſuppoſed to be aggrieved by the laws enacted in the other. Nor can we well ſtate a caſe in which there is any probability of a revolt, but what ariſes from this circumſtance.

If the union was to take place, and all the provinces of our American dominion repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, there would be a tye and a connection of a very different nature from what at preſent ſubſiſts between them. Acts of the legiſlature would then be acts to which themſelves had given their conſent; a point of vaſt importance, and by no means treated in a ſatisfactory manner, by ſpeaking of a virtual repreſentation.

Let us ſuppoſe the adminiſtration of our government to be ſo unexceptionable in regard to all American meaſures as to prevent any open revolt among that part of the ſubjects in our empire, in what manner then could America become independent? I reply, by the connection gradually falling off, until it became of no conſequence—this connection is merely commercial. Its declenſion would be proportionate to the coloniſts ſupplying their own markets with manufactures, after which the remaining

connection would be too inconſiderable to deſerve a thought: hence therefore we find a natural and eaſy death to every advantage which can reſult from America to Britain. But if the former was repreſented in the parliament of Britain—and if that repreſentation formed an entire new legiſlative power, to which they gave unreſtrained obedience, the *connection* between them, which has been found of ſuch importance, would be properly perpetual—as ſecure as the connection between Scotland and England.

If in any future time the population and importance of America become, what we have reaſon to ſuppoſe they will be, then it might be expected that a change in the place of parliamentary meetings might enſue, and America become the head of the empire, as far as the reſidence of government could make it ſo; a revolution which might be much more advantageous to this country than a total ſeparation would be, under many circumſtances which might attend ſo great a change. But as this idea is in reference only to a period extremely diſtant, no arguments to be drawn from it can be concluſive in the preſent enquiry.

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